BRILL'S COMPANIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

A COMPANION TO MEDIEVAL CANONIZATION PROCESSES

NEW CONTEXTS, PERSPECTIVES, AND COMPARISONS

Edited by SARI KATAJALA-PELTOMAA

BRILL

A Companion to Medieval Canonization Processes

Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition

A SERIES OF HANDBOOKS AND REFERENCE WORKS ON THE INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF EUROPE, 500–1800

Edited by

Christopher M. Bellitto (*Kean University*)

VOLUME 109

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bcct*

A Companion to Medieval Canonization Processes

New Contexts, Perspectives, and Comparisons

Edited by

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: *Vie et miracles de Monseigneur Saint Louis* or *Livre des faits de Monseigneur Saint Louis*. Artist: Maître du cardinal de Bourbon. Enlumineur, 1480–1488. Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits Français 2829, 146r.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2025003690

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1871-6377
ISBN 978-90-04-51629-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-72683-3 (e-book)
DOI 10.1163/9789004726833

Copyright 2025 by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Plantijnstraat 2, 2321 JC Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.
Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill BV via brill.com or copyright.com.
For more information: info@brill.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface VII
List of Figures and Tables VIII
Notes on the Editor and Contributors X

Introduction: Canonization Processes in Context and Comparison 1
Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

1 The Papacy on the Canonization of Saints: between Appropriation, Regulation, and Disinterest 24
Christian Krötzl

2 God's Ordinary and Extraordinary Speech: the Determination of Miracles by the Roman Congregation of Rites in the Early Modern Era 46
Maria Teresa Fattori

3 Transforming an Individual into a Saint and an Accused into a Criminal
Judicial Procedure in Canonization Processes and libri maleficiorum *of Italian Communes at the End of the Middle Ages* 69
Didier Lett

4 The Construction of Information in the Records of Medieval Canonization and Heresy Inquests: a Methodological Comparison 86
Saku Pihko

5 Testimonies of the Life of the Saint in the Context of Canonization 105
Jenni Kuuliala

6 Safe and Dangerous Names: Uncovering Connections and Boundaries in the Canonization Inquest for Countess Delphine de Puimichel, 1363 126
Nicole Archambeau

7 Disability, Miracle, and Sainthood in Early Fourteenth-Century Canonization Dossiers 153
Adelheid Russenberger

8 "Are You Content to Die?" Death Acceptance and Death Denial in Depositions of Canonization Processes 174
Jyrki Nissi

9 Writing Microhistory from the Canonizations of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer 197
Laura Ackerman Smoller

10 Experiencing the Miraculous: Lived Religion in the Depositions 217
Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

11 Scent, Sight, Awe: Examining the Bodily Signs of Sainthood in the Canonization Processes of Dominican Saints 237
Marika Räsänen

12 Canonizations and Jesuit Saints: the Lives and Images amid the Causes for Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier 259
Jonathan Greenwood

Bibliography 295
Index 337

Preface

When I was offered the opportunity to contribute to the writing and editing of this collection, I was a little hesitant at first. Much has been published within the field of canonization process studies in recent years, and I pondered if I had something new to say; could I find interested scholars who would be willing to contribute to this volume? Quite soon I realized once again something I learned a long time ago: canonization processes are not easily exhausted; new perspectives emerge as the field matures and conceptual interests within historical studies evolve. I was delighted to collaborate with this group of experts – both old and new colleagues and friends – and put this collection together. I would like to thank all the contributors for their patience and proficiency; it has been an absolute pleasure to work with you. I have learned so much and gained new ideas and insights, even though I thought I knew the field quite well. I thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and feedback. I am grateful to the series editor, Christopher Bellitto, for collaboration and support during the editing process. I want to thank Brill for accepting this book into its Companion series and for smooth and professional collaboration all through the process. I thank BA Annukka Ahola who helped with the index. Editing this book has coincided with personal professional changes: I thank my old colleagues at HEX, the Research Council of Finland's Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences at Tampere University, the members of my project Lived Religion in Medieval Finland (funded by the Swedish Literature Society in Finland), and my new colleagues in cultural history at the University of Turku's School of History, Culture and Arts Studies.

Figures and Tables

Figures

2.1 Prospero Lambertini, *De servorum Dei Beatificatione et sanctorum canonizatione*, Liber IV, pars I, caput I (Romae, 1751), 1 **68**

6.1 All individuals named by six key witnesses in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **132**

6.2 Individuals named by Bishop Philippe Cabassole in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **134**

6.3 Individuals named by Bertranda Bartomieua in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **136**

6.4 Individuals named by Lord Giraud of Simiana in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **137**

6.5 Individuals named by Master Guilhem Enric in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **138**

6.6 Individuals named by Alazays Mesellano in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **139**

6.7 The most commonly named individuals by all six key witnesses in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **141**

6.8 Individuals named by Friar Giraud Raybaud in Countess Delphine de Puimichel's Canonization Inquest, 1363 **145**

8.1 Janez Höfler: *Der Meister E.S: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15.Jahrhunderts.*, Tafelband, Schnell & Steiner, 2007, L.183 **188**

8.2 Janez Höfler: *Der Meister E.S: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15.Jahrhunderts.*, Tafelband, Schnell & Steiner, 2007, L.184 **189**

12.1 Theodoor Galle, Franciscus Xaverius, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 24.2 × 30.5 cm in Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), s.n., Biblioteca Valenciana, Fondo antiguo XVI/338 **274**

12.2 Hieronymus Wierix, P[ater] Franciscus Xaverius, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 8.4 × 6.1 cm, RM, RP-P-1904-843 **275**

12.3 Franciscus Xaverius – Sat est Domine, sat est, Lisbon, ca. 1600, engraving, 30.5 × 48.3 cm in João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600), s.n., Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES-2258-V **277**

12.4 Francisus Xaverius – Non sat Domine, non sat est, Lisbon, ca. 1600, engraving 30.5 × 48.3 cm in João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600), s.n., Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES-2258-V **278**

12.5 Francesco Villamena, Beatus Ignatius Loyola, Rome, 1600, broadsheet, 55.5 × 42 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41, fol. 42 **280**
12.6 Jan (II) Collaert, The Miracles of Ignatius Loyola, Antwerp, 1610, engraving, 26.8 × 36.5 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-292 **287**
12.7 Jan-Baptist Barbé, S. Franciscus Xaverius and S. P. Ignatius Loyola, Antwerp, ca. 1622, engraving, 66.2 × 49.3 cm (entire page), AV, Hofbibliothek I 56, fol. 54 **292**

Tables

9.1 Stages of the canonization processes of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer **204**
12.1 Timeline and documents for the causes of canonization for Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier **269**

Notes on the Editor and Contributors

Nicole Archambeau
is Associate Professor of History at Colorado State University. Her first book, *Souls under Siege: War, Plague, and Confession in 14th-Century Provence*, considers how people understood moments of danger as sicknesses of the soul and tried many methods to heal them. Her new research project considers health and healing with regard to medieval conceptions of nature and agriculture.

Maria Teresa Fattori
(PhD University of Pisa, 2001) is a researcher at the Chair of Modern History, held by Massimo C. Giannini at the University of Teramo; her current work focuses on the relationship between the Catholic Church and slavery in the early modern period. She has published extensively on the history of the early modern Roman curia, the development of canon law after the Council of Trent, and the history of global Catholicism. Her latest research has been funded by the German Academy of Sciences (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and by the Italian Ministry for the University and Research (Fondo per il programma nazionale di ricerca 2022).

Jonathan Greenwood
(PhD) is currently an archivist in the ATIP branch at Library and Archives Canada. His research focuses on the religious cultures of sainthood during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition to his articles on Jesuit saints, his book examines the miracles and devotional objects of Ignatius Loyola amid his cause for canonization in the early modern Hispanic world. The monograph will be published by Cambridge University Press.

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa
is currently Professor of Cultural History at the University of Turku, Finland. She has specialized in lived religion, gender, and family. Her recent publications on canonization processes include *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) and edited with Christian Krötzl, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes. Structures, Functions, and Methodologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Christian Krötzl

is Professor Emeritus from Tampere University. He has worked extensively on medieval hagiography, papal policy, mission in the Baltic Sea area, everyday life, university studies, and history of minorities. Concerning canonization processes, his latest publications include (edited with Sari Katajala-Peltomaa) *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes. Structures, Functions, and Methodologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Jenni Kuuliala

is currently University Lecturer at the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, University of Turku, Finland. She is a historian of late medieval and early modern saints' cults, the social history of medicine, and the history of disability. Her current research focuses on lived religion and the representations of illness experience in Renaissance Italy. Her recent publications include "The Saint as Medicator: Medicine and the Miraculous in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Social History of Medicine* (2020): https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkaa053 and *Saints, Infirmity, and Community in the Late Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

Didier Lett

is Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at the Université Paris Cité and Honorary Senior Member of the Institut Universitaire de France (IUF). He specializes in childhood, family, kinship, and gender in late medieval Italian source material. He is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*. His publications include *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (Le Nœud Gordien), 2008), *L'Enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, Aubier, 1997), *Hommes et femmes au Moyen Âge. Histoire du genre XIIe–XVe siècle* (Collection Cursus) (Paris, Armand Colin, 2013), *Viols d'enfants au Moyen Âge. Genre et pédocriminalité à Bologne, XIVe–XVe siècle* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2021), and *Crimes, genre et châtiments au Moyen Âge. Hommes et femmes face à la justice (XIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris, Armand Colin, 2024).

Jyrki Nissi

defended his doctoral dissertation on the communality of death and dying in late medieval Europe at Tampere University in 2021. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at Tampere University and a visiting postdoctoral fellow at the University of Padova. He has delved into the medieval process of death through resurrection miracles, exploring the social and religious aspects within this subject. In addition to his interest in the concept of good Christian death, his current research centers on the fear of death in late medieval Europe.

Saku Pihko

received his PhD in History from Tampere University in 2023. He is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Research Council of Finland's Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences at Tampere University.

Marika Räsänen

PhD, Adjunct Professor (docent) and academy research fellow (University of Turku, School of History, Culture and Art Studies), is a historian whose research interests include material and devotional culture, especially the role of relics in late medieval lived religion.

Adelheid Russenberger

is a PhD student at Queen Mary University of London. Her research focuses on experiences of physical disability recorded in early fourteenth-century canonization processes, with a particular interest in the role of identity and emotions in the experience of disability.

Laura Ackerman Smoller

is Professor of History at the University of Rochester and a fellow of the Medieval Academy of America. She is the author of *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014, winner of the 2016 La corónica International Book Award); and numerous articles and book chapters exploring late medieval religion, miracles, hagiography, astrology, and apocalypticism. She is currently at work on a book tentatively titled *Astrology and the Sibyls: Routes to Religious Truth in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*. Smoller's research has been supported by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Introduction: Canonization Processes in Context and Comparison

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

Canonizations, which officially proclaimed a person's sanctity, were complex, embracing theological, judicial, social, and cultural aspects of medieval Christianity. "Holiness, in and of itself, was never enough," as Ronald Finucane has observed.[1] This volume scrutinizes canonizations as a multifaceted phenomenon by focusing on the set of sources most closely linked to them. Canonization hearings were formal inquiries into the life, merits, and miracles of a saintly candidate. While the dossiers created during the hearings are essentially about saints, sanctity, and miracles, at the same time they testify to judicial and administrative changes that took place within the church. They manifest the theological ponderings of the era while also revealing the devotional practices, daily life, and troubles of those not learned in canon law or theology. The inquiries themselves pertain most obviously to the regulations and aspirations of the Holy See, but they also reflect local nuances. It is because of this inherent complexity that canonization processes are excellent sources for studying various topics of and entanglements within the medieval era.

The volume at hand aims to offer tools for comprehending the multilayered nature of canonization processes, namely the judicial background and structural elements of individual hearings as well as the broader devotional aspects particular to time and place that are reflected in the depositions. At the same time, it aspires to illuminate the state-of-the-art and topical new themes within the field of canonization process studies. It thus approaches canonization processes in a three-fold way: as a phenomenon of the past, as a medieval source material with particular methodological challenges, and as a specific field of historical studies. This introduction begins with the phenomenon itself by offering a short overview of the development of canonization practice and judicial requirements before it turns to the structural elements that affect how the records can be tackled. A historiographical survey of research into

---

[1] Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 256. The writing and open-access publication of this chapter has been funded by The Swedish Literature Society in Finland's "Lived Religion in Medieval Finland" project.

© SARI KATAJALA-PELTOMAA, 2025 | DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_002
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

canonization processes is followed by an explanation of the volume's structure. As methodological questions are critically important for the entire volume, they are addressed at relevant points throughout the text.

1 Development of Canonization Right

Canonization hearings emerged from tightening papal control during the central Middle Ages and the development of new papal policies that were connected to broader institutional, social, and cultural changes taking place within Christianity. The fight against heterodoxy was one of the goals of eleventh-century Gregorian reform, and these efforts increased during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One step forward in this path was tightening control of lay religiosity in the form of annual confession of sins, an obligation enacted through the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The new position of inquisitors tasked with rooting out "heretical depravity" served the same end. Canonization, the official proclamation of a person's sainthood, was part of the same set of tools. The right to acknowledge the sanctity of a person and to proclaim him or her as a saint was considered significant – and it traveled up the clerical hierarchy during the medieval era until it became a papal privilege in 1234.[2]

Canonization was one of the means by which papal power was centralized and consolidated, even if the development of the canonization process itself was largely sporadic and at first rather unsystematic. In the early Middle Ages, canonization was essentially a liturgical matter quite often synonymous with *translatio*, the ceremonial translation of relics, and did not require papal authority to be valid. Before the beginning of the twelfth century, a stable procedure for the act of canonization cannot be reconstructed, and *vitae* and other hagiographic texts seemingly were sufficient for a decision on canonization to be made. However, the Holy See's role in matters of canonization grew over time, and the initially simple procedures were transformed into formal, legal processes. Already at the end of the twelfth century, the first *inquisitio*-type hearings were being conducted by papal delegates, and shortly thereafter decisions to grant sainthood were being based on witnesses' depositions recorded at a local hearing, *inquisitio in partibus*.[3] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, *vitae* and other hagiographic texts sent to the papal curia could only serve as a request for canonization; they alone were no longer sufficient to generate a decision.

---

[2] The seminal works in the history of canonization right and procedure are Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948); and Stephan Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 4.17 (1938): 172–228. More recently, see André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonization et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter*, Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 28 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004); Donald S. Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella "Christianitas" (1198–1302)* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2006); and Roberto Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 54–77.

Judicially, canonization inquests were of an *inquisitio* type, which meant there needed to be a general fame, *fama publica*, of an individual's saintly life and of miracles performed by the power of God through him or her. Responsibility to pursue the cases was laid on officials; witnesses did not have any say in the organization of an interrogation before they were summoned to testify. The so-called Romano-canonical process regulated the conduct of interrogations in canonization hearings and, as a judicial process, canonization developed in a reciprocal relationship with legal procedures connected to other judicial issues.[4]

One of the first papal interventions in canonization matters occurred during the papacy of Alexander III. In 1171 or 1172, he wrote a letter to King Kol of Sweden in which he condemned the veneration of a saint who had died drunk and thus was unworthy of veneration. The saint in question was King Eric IX of Sweden (r. 1156–60); Alexander argued that venerating him publicly was banned without papal approval of the cult. This ruling proclaiming papal authority over canonizations and forbidding the veneration of unofficial saints came to be known as *Audivimus*. The ruling became more influential after it was inserted in the *Liber Extra*, the fundamentally important decretal collection of Pope Gregory IX, in 1234.[5]

---

[3] Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*; Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 13–68; and Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages," 54–77.

[4] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*.

[5] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 33–34. A detailed reconstruction of the way of *Audivimus* into the *Liber Extra* can be found in Thomas Wetzstein, "Audivimus (X 3.45.1) and the Double Failure of Raymundus de Peñafort," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, D.C. 1–7 August 2004*, eds. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia 13 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 251–87.

Only a few papal rulings addressed canonization directly. In addition to *Audivimus*, Pope Honorius III also declared that witnesses had to be questioned both diligently and one at a time. This ruling is known as *Venerabili* and was also included in the *Liber Extra*. The third ruling, *Testes legitimos*, was known also as *Interrogatorium* or *Forma examinandi testes*; it was used and proposed by the commissioners in a hearing.[6] This formulary, which contained the list of questions validating the quality of witnesses' knowledge – how did they know what they claimed to know, for example, when, where, and in whose presence did the events they described happen? – was used for the first time during the canonization hearing of Elizabeth of Hungary in 1232.

Canonization became a papal privilege in 1234; this meant that all new saints and cults – if they were to be added to the litany of saints and universally venerated by the church – had to be approved by the papal curia. This right to officially add a candidate to the litany of saints who were recognized in public liturgical worship did not, however, mean that the pope and papal curia had complete control over the practicalities of saint veneration. At the local level, saints were venerated and cults flourished without papal proclamation. In these cases, the approval of local clergy, bishop, or head of a religious order sufficed. The clergy was not always unanimous in its opinion of a new saintly candidate, however. Furthermore, lay participation should not be overlooked: without devotees there was no cult.[7]

Some saintly candidates were venerated within a small circle only, the cult not enticing enthusiasm among lay devotees. Much more troublesome for clerical authorities was lay veneration of unsuitable candidates, as papal intervention in the letter to the Swedish king noted above testifies.

---

[6] On rulings concerning canonization, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 1–39, esp. 17–20; for the rulings, see 18–19. On Romano-canonical procedures in canonizations, see Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Ottfried Krafft, *Pasturkunde und Heiligsprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch*, Archiv für Diplomatik 9 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005); Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*; and Roberto Paciocco, *Sublimia negotia. Le canonizzazioni dei santi nella curia papale e il nuovo Ordine dei frati Minori* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1996).

[7] See especially Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 189–216. See also Pierre Delooz, *Sociologie et canonisations*, Collection scientifique de la Faculté de Droit de l'Úniversité de Liège Bd. 30 (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969). On the importance of "vox populi" in canonization procedures, see Gábor Klaniczay, "The Power of the Saints and the Authority of the Popes: The History of Sainthood and Late Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, eds. Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 117–40.

Judicial matters as they pertained to canonization continued to interest scholars. Canonists responded by providing new treatises on the subject, especially related to the need to acquire judicial proof of a miracle. Despite these new learned treatises, however, the practicalities and the resulting canonization records continued to follow older examples. Fifteenth-century hearings, for example, were not necessarily any more judicially accurate than their predecessors had been. Furthermore, a dearth of canonization hearings around the turn of the fifteenth century meant that the knowledge of how to conduct them was forgotten. The gap in canonizations also affected their outcome. Letizia Pellegrini argues, for example, that in the 1440s, at the opening of the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena, the procedures had been partially forgotten and the organizers were uncertain of how to handle the practicalities of the hearing.[8]

At the end of the fifteenth century, judicial discussions on miracles focused on whether *miracula in vita* were required for canonization, the degree to which witnesses had to corroborate each other, and the role of partial miracles or relapses in proving sanctity. An important step in the development of judicial theory as it related to canonization was taken by Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis (d. 1484), who proposed a new standard of defining miracles for canonization that was based on long tradition and the practice of analysing miracles performed by saints that had already been canonized.[9] This meant that both theoretical ponderings and already approved miracles recorded in canonization bulls were considered normative. Judicial treatises, for their part, had no immediate impact on either the practicalities or the outcomes of contemporary hearings.

After the interrogations *in partibus*, the procedures for canonization were continued at the curial level. The cardinals of the papal curia evaluated the evidence, and usually at this point a shortened version of the dossier was made, known as *relatio*. Sometimes the discussions conducted during this evaluation phase have been preserved, but unfortunately only in a minority of medieval cases. At the curia, canonizations were handled based on tradition, with only small institutional changes being enacted during the late Middle Ages. Only after the Reformations of the sixteenth century did curial procedure become more standardized.

---

[8] According to Letizia Pellegrini, judicial scrutiny had advanced with new *tractati*, but "the collecting, recording and investigating miracles was no longer a well-known procedure." Letizia Pellegrini, "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonization Process of Bernardin of Siena," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 105–27, esp. 107.

[9] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 289–303, 307–8; for the evolution of the medieval canonization procedure, see 203–353.

One of these changes related to the office of *promotor fidei*. It was customary already in late medieval curial discussions of canonization material to present doubt and to scrutinize the evidence from different angles, but the first specific mention of *promotor fidei* is given by de Pavinis only in 1488. A *Procurator fiscalis et fidei Christiane* [*promotor*] is also mentioned in Katherina of Vadstena's canonization process in 1474.[10] The need for careful scrutiny was acknowledged, and presenting doubt became institutionalized, yet the office through which this happened became standard only after the Reformations and was consolidated at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This official's duty was to raise suspicion at a curial level against the miracles presented in the dossiers.[11] After the Reformations, increased importance was also placed on expert medical testimony in evaluations of miraculous cures. Both of these changes allowed medical skepticism to play a stronger role in the certification of miracles.[12]

The Reformations also affected canonizations in other ways. First, they caused a disruption in the processes, as no new saints were canonized between 1523 and 1588. Then, in 1588, a major change in canonization rules and procedures was implemented: the founding of the Sacred Congregation of Rites sanctioned the final judicial acknowledgment of holiness to the Holy See. Beatification and canonization were also separated from each other at a procedural level. Accompanying the Sacred Congregation of Rites was an archive for canonization dossiers; before that, it was not unknown for an important document to go missing.

---

[10] *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis*, ed. Isak Collijn, Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, Band 2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1942–1946), XVIII.

[11] The position of *promotor fidei* was formally instituted in 1631. Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making," *Science in Context* 20.3 (2007): 481–508.

[12] Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony," 481–508. For the continuing significance of healing miracles after the Middle Ages, see Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422. Discussions about the number of miracles required for canonization emerged at the end of the sixteenth century. Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 1014–17.

Further institutionalization continued during the pontificate of Urban VIII; in 1625, all forms of public veneration of unauthorized saints – that is, cults without papal approval – were expressly forbidden. During these formative years, between 1588 and 1642, canonization procedures took a form that remained in place until 1983.[13] Nevertheless, canonizations continued to be topical and controversial; Maria Teresa Fattori's chapter in this volume explores changes to the canonization process implemented between the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and the papacy of Benedict XIV (1740–58), while Christian Krötzl addresses the medieval rulings.

If a hearing earned a positive outcome, the entire procedure concluded with a bull issued by the pope and a solemn canonization feast.[14] The outcome was never guaranteed, however, as the process could face unexpected hindrances or even insurmountable obstacles at any stage. Local devotion could diminish, for example, and provide an insufficient number of miracles or financial support for the cause. The curialists and/or the pope also may have been preoccupied with other affairs during turbulent eras. The Great Western Schism and the Protestant Reformation are obvious examples of such turbulence, but tension and competition within the curia itself sometimes was enough to prevent a canonization attempt from proceeding. Before the institutionalization of the canonization procedure and the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the death of a pope or other major official in the curia could require a canonization process to restart from the beginning. Even in the best possible scenario, medieval procedures for an official canonization were multisided, insecure, and slow.[15]

---

[13] Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, eds. Steven Vanden Broecke, Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, and Marco Cavarzere (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–89, here 166.

[14] Thus far, these later curial stages of medieval canonization processes have not been fully analysed. For institutional elements following the hearing, however, see Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*; and Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 633–47; for categorizations of miracles, see Didier Lett, "De la dissemblace à la resemblance. Construction sociale et métamorphoses des récits de miracles dans le procès de canonisation et l'*abbrevatio maior* de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325–1328)," in *Miracles, vies et réécriture dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. Monique Goullet and Michel Heinzelmann, Beihefte der Francia 65 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 121–47; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Narrative Strategies in the Depositions: Gender, Family and Devotion," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 227–56; and Jenni Kuuliala, "Proving Misfortune, Proving Sainthood: Reconstructing Physical Impairment in Fourteenth-Century Miracle Testimonies," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 197–226. On the role of miracles in canonization bulls, see Étienne Doublier, "Il miracolo nella documentazione pontifica duecentesca," in *Miracolo! Emozione, Spettacolo e Potere nella Storia dei Secoli XIII–XVII*, eds. Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: SISMEL, 2019), 31–55.

2 Structural Aspects and Methods of Recording

The theoretical or ideal canonization procedure described above was put into practice in different ways. The papal rulings were normative, but the practices and outcomes of hearings varied greatly. The final dossiers do not form a uniform set. All hearings, however, share some basic background elements, starting with the saintly candidate. Some candidates were already famous for their sanctity during their lifetime, while others' special status was recognized upon their death. A third group of candidates had to wait for a time, some even for years, before their relics were understood to possess divine power. For some candidates, *charisma* was manifested during their lifetime as *miracula in vita*, but all new saints were required to perform *post mortem* miracles by the power of God.

Often the dossiers were divided in two parts: the holy life of the candidate, including *miracula in vita*, was recorded in the first part, while *post mortem* miracles were the topic of the *pars secunda*.[16] Miracles were, however, a controversial matter in proving sanctity, since they could also be performed *per malos*.[17] Holy life became increasingly important for validating a person's sainthood, but thus far the depositions concerning miracles have gained much more scholarly interest. In this volume, Jenni Kuuliala analyses how the testimonies of a proposed saint's life were used to construct sanctity, while Marika Räsänen focuses on the transitional phase: how the saint's dead body manifested holiness.

---

[15] For practical obstacles, see Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 1–11; for curial tensions, 19–21.

[16] This kind of structure was followed, for example, in the canonization processes of Thomas Cantilupe (BAV MS 4015), Charles of Blois (BAV MS Vat. lat. 4025), and Louis of Toulouse (*Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. Episcopi Tolosani*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, Analecta Franciscana, Tomus VII (Florence: Collegium s. Bonaventurae, 1951)). This kind of categorization seems to have been particularly typical for *relatio*, abbreviated version of canonization process. See, for example, for Charles of Blois, ASV MS Collectorie 434; and for Nicholas of Tolentino, BAV MS Vat. lat. 4027; for Yves of Tréguier, "Relatio processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis," in *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, eds. A. de La Borderie et al. (Saint-Brieuc: Imprimerie L. Prud'homme, 1887), 301–435.

[17] André Vauchez argues that popes emphasized the saintly candidates' behavior at the expense of their miracles, especially those *in vita*, when evaluating sanctity. André Vauchez, "Il papato et il miracolo nella valutazione della santità nella prima metà del duocento," in *Miracolo!* 19–29. On the validation of miracles, see Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 246, 280. On the curial approach to and analysis of miracles, see Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 15–24.

A paradox of medieval canonizations was that there had to be an existing cult – including known miracles, devotees, and pilgrims to the shrine – before the pope would agree to open a judicial hearing for canonization. Often the opening of a process into the life, merits, and miracles of the candidate resulted from active lobbying by local agents, both secular and clerical. This required time, money, and effort, and thus many communities – dioceses, religious orders, or dynasties – were unable or unwilling to pursue a canonization.[18] Papal canonization right was universal, but canonizations were not distributed geographically in an equal manner: Italy and Southern France stand out as a hot spots of medieval canonization processes.[19] They also stand out in this volume, but this work strives for geographical balance, and processes from regions north of the Alps are scrutinized as well. Jonathan Greenwood's chapter, which focuses on early modern Jesuit saints, stretches the geographical scope of the volume to a global level.

When the pope decided to open a process, the standard procedure was for him to nominate three commissioners of high clerical rank (often cardinals, bishops, or abbots) to carry out the interrogations. The commissioners were in charge of the inquiry, and their performance had a significant impact on the nature of the final records. If the commissioners were learned in canon law and the judicial requirements were taken carefully into account, the records of such hearings are typically well structured, clear, and full of details concerning both the practicalities organizing the hearing and the actual interrogation. A case in point is the canonization hearing of Thomas Cantilupe (1307), analysed in this volume by Adelheid Russenberger and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa.

While some of the commissioners were efficient and dutiful, others were apparently not that keen to follow the regulations, and some did not even show up at the site of interrogation; they may have just sent an excuse for their absence or delegated the matter to local clergy, who in turn may not have been fully aware of papal rulings concerning the interrogation.[20] Hearings could be rejected or ordered to be restarted due to judicial inaccuracy. Hearings *in partibus* were adjusted, but inquisitorial methods in canonization processes were elaborated only gradually and the rulings were internalized rather slowly.[21]

---

[18] Aviad M. Kleinberg, "Canonization without a Canon," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 7–18.

[19] For a map and table of medieval canonization processes, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 320–21; this shows the prevalence of Italy and France and the lack of papally sanctioned processes in the Iberian Peninsula and parts of Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages.

The implementation of these methods and rules cannot be seen as a straightforward process, either. Pope Gregory XI criticized the inquisitorial committee in the canonization process of Charles of Blois (1371) for failing to make clear in the records whether the witnesses were interrogated in detail – following a certain questionnaire – or only in a more general manner. Apparently, the commissioners in this case drew up or at least recorded their list of questions only after the interrogation was over.[22] In Birgitta of Sweden's canonization dossier (1374–80), a selection of miracles was added that was registered by local clergy in Vadstena, Sweden. These cases did not in all instances meet the requirements of canon law: witnesses apparently were not interrogated separately, a preset questionnaire did not guide the interrogation, and depositions were not recorded verbatim or one by one, but rather in the form of a synthesis.[23] In sum, regardless of papal rulings and the commissioners' shared background in canon law, the hearings did not follow exactly a preset schema in their organization.

---

[20] Ugolino, abbot of Saint Peter's in Perugia, was ordered to be the third commissioner in the hearing of Nicholas of Tolentino, but he declined the duty due to his other commitments and the unpleasant weather. *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984), 12. In the case of Katherina of Vadstena, the commissioners were cardinals of the papal curia – Latinus de Ursinus, Stephanus Nardini, and Johannes de Michaelis – but the majority of the witnesses to the miracles were interrogated in Vadstena, Sweden, by local subdelegates. Isak Collijn, "Inledning," in *Processus seu Negocium*, VI–VII.

[21] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 60–67; André Vauchez, "Les origines et le développement du procès de canonisation (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," in *Vita Religiosa im Mittelater. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70 Geburtstag*, eds. Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), 845–56. André Vauchez, "Canonisation et politique au XIV^e siècle. Documents inédits des Archives du Vatican relatifs au procès de canonisation de Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne (d. 1364)," in *Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Martino Giusti, Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano II*, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 6 (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1978), 381–404; and Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 250–59.

[22] Bathélémy Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "La 'Sainteté' de Charles de Blois," *Revue des Questions Historiques* 54 (July 1926): 108–15; Vauchez, "Canonisation et politique," 381–404. The list of questions (*articuli*) was also missing from other hearings carried out in Brittany; see Laura Ackerman Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval & Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 68–70, for a suggestion of this being a local custom.

[23] Cordelia Heß, *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 99–204. On the practicalities of Birgitta's canonization, see Tore

Generally, local proctors or cult promoters handled the practicalities, organized hearing localities, and summoned witnesses. The promoters assumed financial responsibility for running the process, but they were also tasked with promoting the enterprise. This means that they were already active before the hearing: they collected initial evidence of sanctity, such as recorded miracles taking place at the tomb or another cult center, and gathered supporting letters from ecclesiastical and secular authorities. This documentation was then sent to the pope. It was then up to him to open a process and to issue a *commissio*.[24]

The third group of officials active in canonization hearings comprised the notaries who recorded the interrogations. Since canonization processes were judicial records, the outcome needed to be prepared in an official format, *in formam publicam*. This was the task of notaries who held their position by papal or empirical authority.[25] On occasion, notaries were charged with interrogating the witnesses and collecting miracles that had occurred elsewhere. They took notes at the interrogation and later transcribed the full depositions, which were later read to the witnesses for them to accept. They thus turned oral vernacular testimony into a Latin deposition, and furthermore also shaped the witnesses' narratives to fit the "language" of papal curia officials.[26]

Nyberg, "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 67–85.

[24] On the practicalities, see Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles"; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 78–101. On commissions, see Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 535–42.

[25] The office of public notary was not, however, established across all of medieval Europe. It was unknown, for example, in Sweden, where reliability and validity was secured by sigils instead. Local scribes handled the recording of cases in Swedish canonization processes. In his letter attached to the canonization records of Birgitta, Nils Hermansson, the bishop of Linköping, explains the general mistrust of notaries and the use of sigils: "Verum est quia notariorum usus rarus est in terra ista, nec eis creditur sed sigillis." *Acta et processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*, Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser. 2, Latinska Skrifter, Band 1, ed. Isak Collijn. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab., 1924–31), 179. See also *Acta et processus*, 351.

[26] On the practice of notaries in the context of canonization processes, see Christian Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeinvernahmen bei Spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen," *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–40. On the standardization and molding of testimonies done by notaries, see Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 265; and Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54, here 430–31.

In addition to the aforementioned officials, other help could have been needed as well; on occasion, messengers and interpreters were used to carrying out an interrogation.

The witnesses, in turn, were local people who had either known the candidate during his or her lifetime and/or witnessed or experienced a miracle after the saint's death. Not everyone, however, was accepted as a witness or interrogated; after all, sanctity and miracles were a matter of crucial theological, judicial, and social importance. When a process was opened, there may have been a common summoning, *citatio generalis*, for witnesses to come forward and testify about their miraculous experiences. On these occasions, information about the hearing was proclaimed in the local church and the summoning could have been communicated, for example, by leaflets nailed to the church door.[27] This method of summoning could have led to a more liberal selection of witnesses.

As noted, the event needed to be renowned in general, and typically either the proctors or the commissioners carefully preselected both the cases to be evaluated and the witnesses to be interrogated. This selection of witnesses and cases has methodological significance for the study of canonization processes. Not all surprising and sudden recoveries, for example, were accepted as miracles, and not all miracles were accepted for further scrutiny in a canonization inquiry. Only the most reliable cases and trustworthy witnesses were chosen.[28] The selection of cases and witnesses, in turn, heavily influenced the kind of material found in the final dossier. Thus, before making far-reaching conclusions based on one case alone, one should comprehend the whole and understand whether the analysed case was typical for the collection or a rare exception.

Even if the inquisitorial committee controlled the selection and summoning of witnesses, this was not necessarily a straightforward enterprise. For example, in Delphine (Dauphine) de Puimichel's 1363 inquest, thirty-two witnesses were both listed beforehand and interrogated, nineteen were listed but not interrogated, and thirty-six were not listed but interrogated.[29] In her chapter in this volume, Nicole Archambeau shows how the networks of witnesses affected the significance given to their testimony or even to their selection as a witness in this hearing. In addition to the commissioners, local authorities had a strong say in the process of selection. This is particularly clear in the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino, in which prevalence was given to the local political elite of Tolentino and the nearby cities of Marches of Ancona – loyal to the pope – primarily the wealthy Guelph faction. Members of the Guelph families summoned as witnesses gave long depositions about their miraculous experiences and about the *articuli* of the life of Nicholas. The opposing faction, the "Ghibellini" (supporters of the emperor), were neglected as witnesses and on occasion even demonized in the depositions.[30]

---

[27] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 429.

[28] On selection of witnesses, see Paolo Golinelli, "Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials: The Choice of Witnesses," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 165–80; Lett, *Un procès de canonization*; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 23–56. On the selection of miracles to be investigated, see Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Choosing Miracles for Vincent Ferrer," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 75–104; and Pellegrini, "Testifying to Miracles."

When a process for canonization was opened, the promoters or occasionally proctors formulated *articuli*, the list of detailed questions about the life and miracles of the candidate. A separate question, *articulus*, could provide details about the candidate's life or a separate miracle. Some of the *articuli* were short, focusing on single details, while in other processes an *articulus* could generate a summarized version of the whole miracle. In the first type of process, we may encounter free narration of the experience deemed miraculous by various witnesses. In the latter case, the summarized version presented in the article formed the core narrative and variation between witnesses is harder to analyse; in their depositions, the witnesses mainly added missing information or repeated the core information already in the *articulus*. The number of *articuli* varied greatly from one process to another.[31]

In addition to the articles formed by the local officials, witnesses were also expected to answer questions proposed by the commissioners to test the validity of their knowledge (*Interrogatorium*). This seems simple enough in principle but it, too, was put into practice in various ways. It is of crucial methodological significance to analyse how the basic principles and rulings were conducted in the individual process being examined, as the recording methods are of vital significance for the nature of the record.

---

[29] *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel Comtesse d'Ariano, Apt et Avignon, 14 mai–30 octobre 1363. Édition critique*, ed. Jacques Cambell (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1978), 597–99.

[30] Didier Lett, "La parole des humbles comme ressource. L'utilisation de la procédure inquisitoire par les postulateurs de la cause dans la procès de canonisation de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325)," in *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Bologna: CLUEB, 2012), 233–40.

[31] For details see, Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters."

It should be kept in mind, however, that regardless of their judicial nature, canonization processes also form part of the hagiographic genre.[32] Literary models shaped the way in which the details of saints' lives and the elements necessary for an event to be considered miraculous were understood. *Vitae* and the miracle genre gave shape to the inquisitorial committees' questionnaires, especially the *articuli*, and this in turn affected the responses given by the witnesses. The witnesses, too, knew the basic elements of a miracle narrative. These elements may have affected their comprehension and memories of the event long before they gave their testimony in an inquiry. In her chapter, Marika Räsänen shows how the hagiographic topos of *odor sanctitatis* was used in a judicial hearing to construct the sanctity of Domenic of Guzman and Thomas Aquinas.

The central issue among scholars focusing on canonization processes has been the "voice" of the witnesses: What kind of information can be deduced from the written depositions?[33] This question arises in different forms throughout this volume. Scholars hold different opinions about this basic issue; a shared common ground, however, is that the witness depositions do not replicate what "really happened." Rather, they are narratives of past events shaped through different "filters" – the inquisitorial committee's questionnaire, the act of interrogation, shared memories of the past event, and personal rhetorical choices – to various degrees. These issues as they pertain to lay depositions are tackled most directly in the chapters by Laura Ackerman Smoller, Jyrki Nissi, and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa.

---

[32] Miracles in canonization processes have often been analysed jointly with other miracle collections. The scholarship in this field is too vast to be cited here; see, however, the collections *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections* and *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*.

[33] At the other end of the spectrum is Paolo Mariani's claim that in the canonization processes one can hear "viva voce di quasi muto." Paolo Mariani, "Racconto spontaneo o memoria construita? Testi a confronto in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimoquarto," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 108 (1996): 259–319, here 260. In 1995 Michael Goodich also claimed that despite the notarial act, "the precision and variety of the accounts which remain nevertheless often allows us to detect the authentic voices of a wide spectrum of participants and witnesses to the miracle." Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 9. In 2005 while comparing inquisition trials and canonization processes, he adopted a more cautious approach, admitting that the work – translation, selection, edition, rewriting, dissecting, rearranging, and summarizing – done by the inquisitors and notaries affected the outcome. Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell and Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 135–56.

Canonization records do not reflect the saint's entire cult, nor do they include all of the miraculous experiences or devotees. Miracles were responses to the particular social needs of the devotees and their communities, but they do not reflect them uncritically. Statistical analysis of different ailments cured by any given saint, for example, does not directly testify to the prevalence of these ailments among members of the surrounding community; rather, it reveals the prevalence of these ailments among the choices made by the inquisitorial committee. Certain types of recovery may also be interpreted as belonging to different miracle categories. This is particularly clear in cases of demonic possession, whereby similar symptoms could have been categorized completely differently in different hearings, depending on the commissioners' preferences. Some commissioners favored demonic presence as an explanation, while others required strict proof to invoke a supernatural affliction instead of a natural one, like an illness.[34] In a similar vein, illumination of a blind person was accepted quite often as the first or among the first miracles; such a cure held symbolic power, not only because the cured individual could see physically once again but also because the *miraculé* could see the truth – the sanctity of the candidate. Furthermore, the hearings typically gave prevalence to recoveries with biblical prototypes.[35] Theology affected the outcome even if learned theological ponderings are rarely directly reflected in the depositions.

A common feature shared by the different processes is their collaborative nature. The records were crafted by the inquisitorial committee, notaries, and witnesses. The questions proposed, whether formed by the commissioners or by local officials, as well as the notarial act – the way the original oral vernacular interrogation was turned into Latin and recorded in the language expected by curial officials – shaped the final dossier. The witnesses' perception of saints and miracles, their experiences and memories of them, and their willingness and capacity to articulate and narrate them in an acceptable manner at an official judicial hearing all contributed to the outcome.

---

[34] See Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Madness, Demonic Possession, and Methods of Categorization," in *Companion to Medieval Miracles* for diverse understanding of the phenomenon in different processes.

[35] On miracles with biblical precedents, see Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 9–12. On miracle typologies and biblical prototypes in the canonization process of Saint Margaret of Hungary, see Ildikó Csepregi, "Miracle Types and Narratives: The Case of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Companion to Medieval Miracles*, 327–53.

3 State-of-the-Art of Canonization Process Studies

The study of canonization processes is a rapidly expanding field. As they were connected to or even formed a nexus of various spheres of culture and society, canonization processes have been used to research various themes and topics. Larger, general trends and paradigms of historical studies have been reflected within this field as well. Due to limited space, the following outline of the scholarship is but a selection. The relevant scholarship pertaining to individual processes is introduced more fully in the individual chapters.

Modern historical research was first interested in canonization processes as evidentiary documents of papal power, and the first studies were concerned primarily with the judicial and structural elements of canonization.[36] The seminal study, which launched current interest in the medieval canonization processes, appeared in the 1980s: André Vauchez's *La Saintété en Occident*.[37] This substantial study laid the groundwork for various emerging themes and topics: the formation of canonization procedures and the different typologies of sainthood in various parts of Europe and among Christians of different social status, as well as signs of sanctity and various types of miracles. *La Saintété en Occident* is still the standard reference work within this field; its undisputed value lies in its categorization both of official saints according to different variables and of miracles. The inventory of canonization processes presented in that volume still serves as a valuable manual.

Studies of procedures for canonization and technical and judicial approaches to it continued at the end of the 1990s. Authors such as Roberto Paciocco, Thomas Wetzstein, and Ottfried Krafft offered groundbreaking work in canonization procedures and the Romano-canonical process.[38] The practicalities of carrying out the hearing, the notarial act being one salient example, have generated interest as well.[39] The most recent monography-length examples within this field are Ronald Finucane's *Contested Canonizations* (2011) and Donald Prudlo's *Certain Sainthood* (2015). The technical-judicial aspects of canonization have remained somewhat underrepresented and, as Prudlo notes, legal-institutional-intellectual approaches have not truly interacted with the sociocultural facets of the processes.

---

[36] Kemp, *Canonization and Authority*; and Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation." Also *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Margaret Toynbee (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929).

[37] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*.

[38] Paciocco, *Sublimia negotia*; Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*; and Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints"; Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Thomas Wetzstein, "Iura novit curia. Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 259–87; Thomas Wetzstein, "'Ad informationem apostolicae sedis.' Die Verehrung des Werner von Oberwesel und die Kultuntersuchung von 1426," in *Wege zum Heil. Pilger und Heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein*, eds. Thomas Frank, Michael Matheus, and Sabine Reichert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2009), 97–134; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*; Christian Krötzl, "Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter," in *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Mia Korpiola (Helsinki: Gummerus, 1999), 19–39.

Increasing scholarly interest in canonization processes was linked with "new social history" and its focus on daily life. The first works in this field coincided with, and even preceded, Vauchez's volume. The vagaries of daily life – the different types of illnesses and accidents for which the saint's help was pleaded – as well as the dynamics of family and community life were pronounced themes in canonization studies that followed Vauchez. Many of these studies utilized miracle collections and other hagiographic material in conjunction with canonization processes, thereby connecting the social history approach to an analysis of devotional practices – communal, family, and individual interaction with an intercessor – and cult formations. Statistical analyses and comparative perspective played an important role in these early studies.[40]

With regard to recent major monographs based on canonization processes, two trends concerning geographical coverage can be found. The first involves comparison of processes from different regions according to a specific theme.[41] The second, concurrent trend involves the deconstruction of one specific cult and process. For instance, Robert Bartlett analyses the social, political, and cultural context of the Welsh border at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by deconstructing depositions recounting the miraculous resurrection of William Cragh in the canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe.[42] Didier Lett likewise has analysed wider socio-political contexts and the reflection of social relations and hierarchies in Nicholas of Tolentino's canonization records,[43] while Nicole Archambeau examines the canonization process of Delphine de Puimichel in the context of war, plague, and other perils in fourteenth-century Provence.[44] Laura Ackerman Smoller deconstructs the cult of Vincent Ferrer and its four different hearings, each conducted in a different place.[45]

---

[39] On practicalities like notarial acts and the interpretation of depositions, see especially Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher"; and Christian Krötzl, "Vulgariter sibi exposito. Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationsprozessen," *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 111–18.

[40] Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1977 [1995]); Ronald Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000); Goodich, *Violence and Miracle*; Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Helsinki: SHS, 1994); and Christian Krötzl, "Parent-Child Relations in Medieval Scandinavia According to Scandinavian Miracle Collections," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14 (1989): 21–37. Anders Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1992); Janken Myrdal and Göran Bäärnhielm, *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser* (Skara: Skaraborgs Länsmuseum, 1994). See also Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000); and Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

[41] See Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion*; Jenni Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration: Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Jenni Kuuliala,

Quantitative approaches still play a role, as they did in the first social history works on canonization processes, but microhistorical approaches and qualitative close reading have become more dominant within canonization process studies. Increased interest in methodological elements has led to more nuanced analyses of the depositions, leading to more theoretical approaches. Scholars have focused, for example, on deconstructing the elements within the hagiographic genre and analysing the oral and literate elements in the depositions, or on scrutinizing the narrative aspects of various versions of the same case across different levels of the process (local hearing, canonization process, curial evaluation, papal bull, sermons on a feast day, etc.). Others have analysed the interconnection of ritual and narrative.[46] The theoretical

---

Saints, Infirmity, and Community in the Late Middle Ages (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

[42] Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[43] Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*. Cecilia Gaposchkin has done a similar deconstruction of the cult of Saint Louis, although her focus is on the liturgical and homilectic sources of the post-canonization period. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

[44] Nicole Archambeau, *Souls Under Siege: Stories of War, Plague, and Confession in Fourteenth-Century Provence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021).

[45] Smoller, *The Chopped-Up Baby*.

[46] Gábor Klaniczay, "Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365–95; and Gábor Klaniczay, "Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts: The Construction of the Miracle," in *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies: Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, Acta Institutum Romanum Finlandiae 41 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 207–23. See also Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning." On changes in a miracle story across various levels of the process, see Lett, "De la dissemblace à la

framework of social and cultural models of disability has been used as well and discussed in the study of canonization processes;[47] this approach governs Adelheid Russenberger's chapter in this volume. Concepts borrowed from the social sciences have proven inspirational for the study of canonization processes, especially themes like gender[48] and childhood socialization.[49] Various aspects of lived religion, in particular demonic presence or disbelief among lay participants, as well as punishment miracles, likewise have become more prevalent recently.[50]

---

ressemblance," 121–47; Katajala-Peltomaa, "Narrative Strategies in the Depositions"; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "From Lived Reality to a Cultural Script: Punishment Miracles as an Experience," in *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo (Cham: Palgrave, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92140-8_2.

[47] See, for example, Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*; Jenni Kuuliala, "Disability and Religious Practices in Late Medieval Prussia: Infirmity and the Miraculous in the Canonization Process of St Dorothea of Montau (1404–1406)," in *Lived Religion in the Baltic Sea Region during the Long Reformation*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 46–74; Jenni Kuuliala, "Physical Disability and Bodily Difference," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 186–205; and Kuuliala, *Saints, Infirmity, and Community*. Similar themes have interested the scholars of the early modern era. See Albrecht Burkardt, *Les clients des saints. Maladie et quête du miracle á travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du XVIIe siècle en France*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 338 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004); and Jenni Kuuliala, "The Saint as Medicator: Medicine and the Miraculous in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Social History of Medicine* (2020): 34.3 (703–22), https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkaa053.

[48] See Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Fatherhood, Masculinity and Lived Religion in Late Medieval Sweden," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38.2 (2013): 223–44.

[49] On childhood socialization, see Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration*; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Learning by Doing: Pilgrimages as a Means of Socialisation in the Late Middle Ages," in *Agents and Objects: Children in Pre-Modern Europe*, eds. Katariina Mustakallio and Jussi Hanska, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 42 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2015), 133–46; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Diabolical Rage? Children, Violence, and Demonic Possession in the Late Middle Ages," *Journal of Family History* 41.3 (2016), doi 10.1177/0363199016644593.

[50] Alain Boureau, "Saints et démons dans les procès de canonisation du début du XIVe siècle," in *Procès de canonisation*, 199–221; Alain Boureau, *Satan Hérétique. Histoire de la Démonologie. Naissance de la démonologie dans l'Occident médiévale (1280–1330)* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004); and Laura Ackerman Smoller, "A Case of Demonic Possession in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: Perrin Hervé and the Nascent Cult of Vincent Ferrer," in *Voices from the Bench. The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*, ed. Michael Goodich (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 149–76. See also Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Dominicans and Demons: Possession, Temptation, and Reform in the Cult of Vincent Ferrer," *Speculum* 93.4 (2018): 1010–47; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion*;

Systematic compilations of canonization processes are rather rare. The first was the collection edited by Gábor Klaniczay, *Medieval Canonization Processes – Procès de canonisation*, in 2004, which focused on the technicalities of carrying out hearings, the practical sides of certain processes, and characteristics of different processes. The other comprehensive collection, *Miracles in Canonization Processes*, was edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa. Compared to the earlier collection, *Miracles in Canonization Processes* focused more strongly on methodological aspects: how and why these sources were written. The greatest difference between the volume at hand and the earlier ones is that here, the canonization processes are tackled as a whole, rather than focusing only on the depositions of miracles. Furthermore, the chapters in this volume search for methodological advances via new comparative options: Jonathan Greenwood analyses the dossiers alongside images, Didier Lett and Saku Pihko consider them against different kinds of judicial records, and Jyrki Nissi explores them together with *ars moriendi* guidebooks. The other chapters also show new ways to deconstruct the depositions. Nicole Archambeau, for example, demonstrates the benefit of digital network visualization tools for exploring networks and connections among those who testified for sanctity. Canonization processes thus offer significantly rich material for the study of various topics within religious, social, cultural, and legal history.

4 Structure of the Volume

This volume is loosely divided into two parts. The first focuses on the judicial and structural elements of various processes, while the second concentrates on devotional perspectives as revealed through the lay depositions. Each chapter strives to explain the structure of the selected process(es) and introduces previous scholarship that has used them. We hope that this volume will be useful both for those familiarizing themselves with this type of source and field of study and for those who are already familiar with canonization processes and are interested in the most recent trends in the field.

The volume opens with chapters addressing judicial developments and papal procedures. In his chapter "The Papacy on the Canonization of Saints: Between Appropriation, Regulation, and Disinterest," Christian Krötzl focuses on medieval developments with a special look at the Nordic canonization

---

and Didier Lett, "Des miracles incroyables. Doutes ou intérêt social et politique dans les procès de canonisation des xiii^{e}–xiv^{e} siècles," in *Miracles in Canonization Processes*.

process. Given the disruptions in the canonization practice during the Middle Ages, it is not possible to create a full analysis of chronological evolution within this volume. Continuity over the early modern divide is, nevertheless, an important contribution. The theme of judicial questions thus is continued in the second chapter, "God's Ordinary and Extraordinary Speech: The Determination of Miracles by the Roman Congregation of Rites in the Early Modern Era," by Maria Teresa Fattori, who concentrates on *On the Beatification of the Servant of God and the Canonization of Saints* by Prospero Lambertini (Benedict XIV). The possibility of reading medieval and early modern papal interventions side by side offers a more profound view of changes and continuities across time.

Canonization processes as judicial inquiries were not born in a vacuum, but rather were closely connected to other changes taking place in legal procedures more broadly. Comparison with other types of court records has long been a *desiderata* within the field of canonization process studies. Such efforts, however, have not been particularly numerous to date. In this volume, the challenge of comparative analysis is tackled by Didier Lett and Saku Pihko. In his chapter, "Transforming an Individual into a Saint and an Accused into a Criminal: Judicial Procedure in Canonization Processes and *libri maleficiorum* of Italian Communes at the End of the Middle Ages," Lett analyses the machineries of power at the level of the entire church and local community by deconstructing the significance of fame and preset questions in the production of collective memory. Pihko, in turn, reads side by side a case from a thirteenth-century inquisition and a canonization process in his chapter "The Construction of Information in the Records of Medieval Canonization and Heresy Inquests: A Methodological Comparison." He scrutinizes the ways in which information was selectively discarded and replicated during the interrogation processes.

A saint is essentially a saint for and by others, as Pierre Delooz already argued in 1983.[51] The construction of sanctity has been thoroughly analysed through *vitae*, but the less mediated and stylistically less refined construction in the testimonies of life in a canonization hearing has thus far attracted little attention. This topic is scrutinized in "Testimonies of the Life of the Saint in the Context of Canonization" by Jenni Kuuliala, who argues that a saint was created through interaction between the holy person and his/her community.

Devotional perspectives and their intermingling with daily life have long been a major trend among historians of canonization processes. In the second half of this volume, several themes emerge from this tradition. Some offer a new perspective of established themes, while others are new openings altogether. Nicole Archambeau opens this section with a chapter that uses digital network visualization tools to study networks and connections among those interrogated at the hearing of Delphine de Puimichel. In "Safe and Dangerous Names: Uncovering Connections and Boundaries in the Canonization Inquest for Countess Delphine de Puimichel, 1363," she demonstrates that when it comes to testifying to sanctity, sometimes silences speak, too.

---

[51] Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood," 208.

Another continuing theme in the field of canonization processes has been recovery. According to André Vauchez's proposed statistics, approximately 90 percent of cases recorded in canonization processes could be labeled as therapeutic. Early studies of canonization records offered quantitative analyses of various ailments, but recently more nuanced analyses of concepts of disability and impairment have gained ground. In "Disability, Miracle, and Sainthood in Early Fourteenth-Century Canonization Dossiers," Adelheid Russenberger analyses disabling conditions from the perspective of both the inquisitorial committee and the patients and beneficiaries. She argues that despite the differing backgrounds of various participants in an interrogation, the unifying element was an underlying shared perception of how to behave toward saints and to petition for a miracle.

Resurrection was the ultimate proof of a saint's powers. This type of miracle had biblical precedents, and typically such cases appear in canonization dossiers. The cultural tensions between daily life and individual endeavors on the one hand, and general cultural trends of liturgy and theology on the other, are analysed by Jyrki Nissi in "'Are You Content to Die?' Death Acceptance and Death Denial in Depositions of Canonization Processes." Nissi corroborates recent arguments from death studies that medieval people were not fascinated with death and shows with practical examples from canonization processes that they rather embraced a will to live.

The next two chapters concentrate more clearly on the interconnection of daily life and devotion. In her chapter "Writing Microhistory from the Canonizations of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer," Laura Ackerman Smoller adopts a microhistorical approach and shows how witnesses were able to retain agency while shaping their own narratives at the inquests. Even if an *articulus* of interrogation influenced their testimony, the interlocutors' interpretations could be resisted. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, in turn, uses the concept of lived religion as the analytical frame for her chapter "Experiencing the Miraculous: Lived Religion in the Depositions." She analyses how the circulating narratives of past events affected the memories of participants, and eventually understanding of the miraculous.

Emotions and senses have become increasingly important research topics and methodologies across historical research in recent years. These themes are analysed by Marika Räsänen in her "Scent, Sight, Awe: Examining the Bodily Signs of Sainthood in the Canonization Processes of Dominican Saints." She scrutinizes how vision, touch, and smell were utilized while giving testimony in a judicial hearing of the miraculous signs in the body of the saintly candidate.

Early modern devotional culture and canonization endeavors at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the era of tightening papal control, are explored in Jonathan Greenwood's "Canonizations and Jesuit Saints: The Lives and Images amid the Causes for Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier." He examines the nature of the devotional books and images contributing to the canonizations of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, showing how visual culture before and after the canonization processes combined these two cults. His text adds a global perspective to the field of canonization studies.

Quotations from source material are translated by the authors unless otherwise indicated. An English version of the name is used for saints and other well-known persons, while for witnesses the version found in the sources is used.

CHAPTER 1

The Papacy on the Canonization of Saints: between Appropriation, Regulation, and Disinterest

Christian Krötzl

1 Introduction

According to a long-standing opinion in earlier research, the medieval papacy, when climbing to the height of its power at the close of the twelfth century and the dawn of the thirteenth, also took a genuine interest and an active role in the canonization of saints. The result was the papal prerogative in canonization matters, introduced namely by Gregory IX in 1234, which from then onwards, until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, was used by the papacy as a powerful tool for promoting, controlling, and supervising the cult of saints. The high and late medieval papal curia even got depicted as a "Fabrique des saints."[1] Newer research has, however, pointed to a rather mixed picture.[2]

A crucial issue in this context were the legal rules governing a canonization. Rather astonishingly, the papacy never saw, as it seems, the need to introduce any kind of comprehensive legal ruling to regulate the process of canonization and its procedures at the various stages. As a result, we can find hardly

---

[1] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La fabrique des saints," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 39.2 (1984): 286–300. For older research, see Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948); Margaret Toynbee, ed., *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), Stephan Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, 4.17 (1938): 172–228.

[2] Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas (*1198–1302*) (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2006); and Roberto Paciocco, *Sublimia negotia. Le canonizzazioni dei santi nella curia papale e il nuovo Ordine dei frati Minori* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1996); Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004); Ottfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005); Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011).

© CHRISTIAN KRÖTZL, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_003

anything specific on the process of canonization in the vast corpus of canon law; there are only a few exceptions.[3]

Canonization was regulated mainly by an application of general legal rules deriving from the *Ordo iudiciarius* (romano-canonical process), which also were used for a wide array of criminal and other processes of evidence-based truth-finding and inquisition. This use and application of non-specific regulations worked well in cases when there were experienced lawyers and notaries available, but it could also lead to a considerable variation in the quality and shape of the procedures *in partibus* and at the papal curia, when the personnel at hand were less experienced.[4] It has even been claimed that there was "no uniformity at all" in the legal out-forming of the procedures at the hearings *in partibus* and at the curia.[5]

The overall number of papal canonizations during the Middle Ages remained, after an active period in the thirteenth century, rather low. There were also several intervals, which lasted many years or decades, when no canonization was effectuated. The longest of these stretched over forty-four years (1401–45). Toward the end of the Middle Ages the papal canonization activity had dwindled down to only a few cases.[6]

Why this slowing down of papal activity in canonization matters after the thirteenth century, and, as it appears, an outright disinterest and neglect during longer periods of the later Middle Ages? Was there really no overreaching, long-term interest and policy of the papacy in this matter? What were the reasons for such an uneven development, after an initial outburst of papal activity? Why did the papacy never create specific legal and procedural rules for the canonization processes, which could have led to a much higher number of papally sanctioned saints, thus enhancing the renown of the papacy far and wide?

---

[3] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; and Thomas Wetzstein, "Audivimus (x 3.45.1) and the Double Failure of Raymundus de Peñafort," *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, D.C. 1–7 August 2004*, eds. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia 13 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 251–87.

[4] On the introduction of the *Ordo iudiciarius* into general law procedures, see Kenneth Pennington, "Due Process, Community, and the Prince in the Evolution of the Ordo iudiciarius," *Revista internazionale di diritto comune* 9 (1998): 9–47.

[5] Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*; and Paciocco, *Sublimia negotia*; Finucane, *Contested Canonizations.*

[6] André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988 [1981]). Finucane, *Contested Canonizations.*

It is, however, important to note that the cult of saints remained, as a whole, very popular until the very end of the Middle Ages. The few dozens of canonizations effectuated by the papacy during the High and Late Middle Ages were in fact only a tiny fraction of all the cults which emerged and gained popularity during those years,[7] not to speak of the much larger number of cults deriving from late antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, which were still popular. The cult of saints could even be defined as *the* decisive cornerstone, which shaped the image of the church and of the clergy among the larger strata of the population. Despite occasional critique by heretic movements and other groups, the cult of saints was easily adapted and adjusted to fit to the needs of all corners of society, from the most remote rural pockets to vibrant urban communities.

Without this popularity of the saints' cult, the support for the church hierarchy might have been more fragile and difficult – the papacy and the clergy could have easily appeared to be a distant, academic club of elites only. Especially in Western and Southern Europe, where different forms of heresy were a real danger, the situation of the church of Rome and its leadership might have been much more difficult. According to modern research, even the rank and file of the heretics in Southern France tended to accept and embrace the cult of saints, although it was vividly opposed by their leaders.[8] It was the cult of saints, with all its related aspects – pilgrimages, veneration of relics and images – which shaped the lived religion in everyday life situations to a great extent.[9]

Why was it then, that the papacy did not pursue decisive steps to take advantage of the popularity of the cult of saints, by developing canonization into a much more powerful tool, by taking it fully into its own hands, and by increasing the number of papally approved canonizations? The papacy would not have needed to break any existing rules, but it could have acted in accordance with its own legal powers. The canonization of those saints, which were to be venerated in the entire church, had been clearly defined as one of the *Causae maiores*, whose decision-making and rule-setting was reserved fully for the pope. By streamlining and simplifying the legal procedures a much higher number of papal canonizations could have been achieved, which would then in turn have enhanced the reputation of the papacy. One does not have to go as far as to make a comparison with a recent pope, John Paul II, who canonized with astonishing speed more saints than all of the popes before him.[10]

---

[7] For the numbers of canonizations, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*.

[8] Donald S. Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).

[9] See Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Helsinki: SHS, 1994); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

Quite on the contrary, the medieval papacy, after an initial burst of activity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, chose to remain largely passive, preferring only to control and restrict, instead of develop and enlarge, the process of papal canonizations. One could even be inclined to think that during longer periods the goal was rather to slow down and hamper any development, to hinder canonization processes to achieve its goal, by enhancing all kinds of legal requirements and obstacles, and by delaying the processes for longer periods, or even *ad indefinitum*. One could get even the impression that, from the end of the thirteenth century onward, the absence of any discernible strategy in the field of developing the process of canonization was again some kind of deliberate strategy, i.e. a strategy of non-acting, non-investing, non-developing. I will try to highlight here some elements that could explain this reluctance and reserve. Is it possible to identify some outspoken or inherent reasons why the popes in certain situations preferred either acting or non-acting?

2 Papal Activity Reaches Its Peak

When looking at the papal canonizations from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward, however, one should not forget the older background of the cult of saints and of canonization. These older models never vanished altogether, but their memory and influence remained strong throughout the Middle Ages. For centuries, from late antique Christianity onward, canonization was locally determined and remained under the jurisdiction of local bishops, with regional synods from time to time debating and deciding on more general rules. The patriarchs of the early church, or the bishop of Rome, after assuming papal authority for himself, hardly ever interfered in the validation or promotion of sainthood, except when it regarded their own episcopate.[11]

---

[10] Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*.

[11] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*; Roberto Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 54–55.

The papacy got more clearly involved in the canonizations from the second half of the twelfth century onward, namely with Alexander III, Clement III, and then most of all Celestine III (1191–98), who canonized almost one saint per year during his papacy (six in all). There was, however, at this stage very little homogeneity in the procedures.[12] A systematic application of romano-canonical procedure (the *Ordo iudiciarius*) to the canonization procedures was initiated with the papacy of Innocent III and was strengthened by Honorius III and Gregory IX. The papacy of that period saw the promotion of sainthood clearly as a means to enhance their political power in the struggle against secular rulers, as well as in the hardening fight against heretical movements. Promotion of sainthood by the papacy during the thirteenth century meant most of all the promotion of political sainthood.[13]

This shift was linked to a gradual but steady refinement of procedural norms, by reducing the weight given to the *vita* and the hagiographical literature of a saint, and by concentrating strongly on the evidence collected by commissions of enquiry, containing witnesses' depositions on the *vita*, on the *miracula in vita*, and on the *miracula post mortem*.[14] A decisive step was a ruling on papal authority in the matter of canonization, which Gregory IX introduced into his *Liber extra* of 1234, by using a letter of Alexander III (*Audivimus*) to the king of Sweden.[15] This was supplemented by another important ruling on the veneration of relics.[16] Other, minor refinements were drawn and applied from other inquisitorial issues. One of them was the requirement, introduced by Honorius III, to hear the testimonies of witnesses *sigillatim* (individually) and not in groups.[17]

In addition to the application of basic general procedural rules from the *Ordo iudiciarius*, these innovations of the first half of the thirteenth century constituted, with only minor modifications, the legal foundations of the process of canonization for the rest of the Middle Ages.[18] Only some lateral issues, not directly linked to the very procedures to be followed *in partibus* and at the curia, underwent more significant changes. One example was the granting of papal indulgences for the propagation of newly established cults, which grew considerably from the 1230s onward, as can be seen in the canonization cases of Francis of Assisi and Elizabeth of Hungary.[19]

---

[12] Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 55–58; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*.

[13] See Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[14] See Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*; Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 62–63.

[15] Audivimus, X 3.45.1. There is a still ongoing debate on the background and intention of this letter, see Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*; Thomas Wetzstein, "Saints and Relics," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Law*, eds. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 439–40.

[16] X 3.45.2 = Cum ex eo, Lat. IV, c. 62.

[17] *Venerabili*, X 2.20.52, of the canonization process of Maurice Carnoët. See also *Testes legitimos*, ed. in Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 539.

[18] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints."

Canonizations of new saints became a weapon for the papacy and the church hierarchy in their fight against heresy. Saints, which in one way or another could be defined as anti-heretical, were strongly promoted by the papacy. They constituted a considerable part of new sainthood during this period.[20] An important part of this anti-heretical battle fought with hagiographical weapons was constituted by mendicant saints, who were promoted by Gregory IX, Innocent IV (1243–54), and Alexander IV (1254–64).[21] The relatively small number of papal canonizations, however, easily led to rivalries between different factions in the church on whose candidate would get their status empowered by papal recognition: saints promoted by one side usually got their saintly renown called into question by the other side. A classic example of this was Francis of Assisi, whose actions during his lifetime often drew harsh criticism, and whose sainthood was strongly opposed and even depicted as dangerous. Already in the first collection of his posthumous miracles there are chastisement miracles because of doubts uttered about his sainthood. There were even outright cases of aggression against his relics reported.[22] Opposition to Francis' sainthood was widespread among the Dominicans; Gregory IX had to admonish them to promote the message of Francis' canonization. A similar pattern happened with the Franciscan saint Anthony of Padua, in whose case the pope also got his share of critique: Gregory IX was criticized because of proceeding too hastily with the canonization of Anthony.[23] Mendicants were also criticized on a more general level for controlling and directing the cult of saints too heavily to serve only their own needs.

---

[19] See Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*; Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 67; Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 43–74.

[20] See Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*; Michael Goodich, "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints," *Church History* 44.3 (1975): 294–307; Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 75.

[21] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 84; Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 67–68.

[22] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 79.

[23] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 84. For the canonization bulls see Giusto Fontanini, *Codex constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione sanctorum* (Rome, 1729), 66–67.

Even during these decades of relatively strong papal activity in canonization matters, we can find longer delays, as well as processes halting for longer periods and not resuming at all. For example, the process of Philip of Bourges was begun under Urban IV, then halted, resumed again under Clement IV, then halted again, and, after a longer delay, reopened in the fourteenth century.[24]

3 Legal Challenges and Difficulties

Already during these peak years we can also identify a growing unease with the deficiencies of procedural rules. This did not lead to a general debate on how to reform the matter. What we do find mentioned, however, are reflections – mostly by canon law commentators, but sometimes also in direct connection with specific canonization procedures – on the difficulties linked to verifying or even to correctly assessing the miracles attributed to a saint during his or her lifetime (*in vita*) or after his or her death (*post mortem*). The importance of the miracles as a crucial element in the process of canonization had grown considerably under Honorius III and Gregory IX, leading to a steady increase in the number of miracles per canonization dossier, as well as in the amount of scrutiny devoted to them by the commission *in partibus* and at the curia.[25]

This, in turn, led canonists to comment on the difficulties regarding or the impossibility of verifying the veracity of the events, or even to assess the basic elements of what had happened before and during a miraculous event. The frequent recurrence in canonization documents of a changing range of miracle definitions – by the church fathers, mainly Augustine of Hippo, up to Thomas Aquinas and later theologians – can be seen as a sign of the unease felt by canon lawyers regarding the verification of miracles.[26]

As a result, the miracles underwent a canonistic scrutiny more and more from a formal standpoint only – whether procedural norms on the hearing of witnesses or other issues had been respected correctly – but no longer from the point of veracity of the miraculous event as such.[27] The assessment and scrutiny of miracles clearly did not fit into the general procedural rules and norms that were applied for canonizations. This was noted and acknowledged from time to time, but it never led to attempts by canon lawyers or popes to seek remedies.

---

[24] Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 69.

[25] Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints"; Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood.*

[26] On the development of miracle definitions, see Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*; and Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," 1–39.

[27] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 60–67; Vauchez, "Les Origines," 845–56; and Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 250–59.

Specific procedural norms for the canonizations were never created. The papal canonizations thus remained subordinate to the norms of the *Ordo iudiciarius*, which had been shaped from the twelfth century onward for very different types of procedures and hearings, far away from the world of miracles and saints.[28] The steady refinement of the procedural details of the *Ordo iudiciarius* throughout the centuries thus also got applied to the letter for the processes of canonization.

The problem of assessing and verifying the miracles was occasionally discussed by canon lawyers, but canonistic scholarship as a whole was not interested in tackling and solving the discrepancy between the decisive need to assess and verify a core element for canonizations – the miracles – and the procedural norms of the Romano-canonical process, which were created for different processes and circumstances.[29] This discrepancy grew even bigger, with the general canonical norms for processes *in partibus* becoming much more rigorous from the second half of the thirteenth century onward. The amount of documentation increased steadily at all levels of the process; this, in turn, increased the number of notaries and other personnel, like translators and scribes. The relocations of the papal curia to and from Avignon again increased the amount of procedural documentation required.[30]

All this led inevitably to an increase in the costs of canonizations, which had to be fully covered by the promoters of the case. Only powerful and wealthy promoters could achieve a papal canonization; promoters with fewer means needed backing from more powerful and wealthy circles. Financial support needed to be ensured in most cases for years and decades, not only for a short period. Even with all the necessary means available, other, often unforeseeable reasons – a papal vacancy, the death or illness of a cardinal member of the commission – could lead to a process being halted or abandoned.[31]

In the later Middle Ages several periods of papal inactivity in canonization matters, often stretching for decades, brought the whole machinery of knowledge and personal experience, which was needed for a canonization, to a near standstill. One could even speak of an evaporation of knowledge and expertise. This was enhanced as there was little of specific legal and procedural regulation on hand for a canonization process. As an example, one can take the long interval from 1401 (canonization of John of Bridlington) to 1445 (Nicholas of Tolentino). After resuming a process, or starting a new one, the people involved – promotors, commissioners, proctors, notaries – could hardly draw on their personal experience with similar cases. Thus, they had to follow more closely the general legal norms and procedures of inquisitions, even when they did not fit the circumstances. They could only search for some scattered written records of previous processes, as is exemplified in many cases.[32] These kinds of difficulties continued until the very last canonizations of the Middle Ages.[33]

---

[28] Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*, 20–21, 31. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 25–33.

[29] Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 246, 280.

[30] On practicalities, see also Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles."

[31] On the high costs for the promoters, see Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 368–69.

4 Why So Few: Papal Reluctance and Its Motivations

When we now turn our attention to the possible reasons for the papal reluctance to promote or develop canonizations in general, we can assume a variety of motivations. It is, however, striking that we find hardly any discussion on this issue in papal statements, in contemporary canonistic scholarship, or in theology. We mostly have to rely on some scattered comments in canonistic treatises related to other issues, or in statements related to specific canonization processes, which are obviously focused on local and personal circumstances.

Canonistic and theological scholarship at the universities and at the papal curia did not seem to be interested in the matter per se, with only a few exceptions; there are hardly any traces of an academic interest to discuss it more broadly from a theoretical or practical point of view.[34] Canon lawyers had, as it seems, enough to do elsewhere, with other matters, processes, and enquiries. We do find in canonistic commentaries occasionally some expression of unease with the fact that canonizations were a thorny issue, that their procedural framework had grown too complicated and did not fit well with the problems and difficulties on the ground, but this never led to any larger discussion on how to change the situation and solve the problems.

External reasons of church and secular politics did, of course, also affect the development of papal canonization, but they were of temporal importance.

---

[32] On the lacking expertise due to a long interval in canonization the case of Bernardino of Siena, Letizia Pellegrini, "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonization Process of Bernardin of Siena," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 105–27.

[33] See Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*.

[34] For one of the few exceptions, see the treatise by the canon lawyer Malvezzi; on this, see Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 290–99; Wetzstein, "Saints and Relics."

A foremost example was the Papal or Great Western Schism of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, which was not only a period of conflicting loyalties within the higher clergy but also a time of conflicting sainthood. Saints promoted by one side drew doubts and critique from adherents of the other side. Henry of Langenstein, in his *Consilium Pacis*, criticized the canonization of new saints with the argument that Christians had already been presented with too many saints.[35] These and similar discussions were, however, linked to temporary problems of church politics and did not lead to discussion on fundamental issues of canonization politics. A general discussion would have required an incentive from above, from the cardinals and popes, and such an incentive never came.

From the papal point of view the relatively small number of canonizations may have been sufficient for their goals. The papacy may have come to the conclusion that they could not handle more. Although this explanation is perhaps too simple, it can lead us to a further, more logical consideration: the strong focus on controlling the process as much as possible and limiting the number of papally approved cults was, in the eyes of the papacy, a necessary means to "limit the damage" and to prevent the wave of new sainthood to grow out of control. Or, as André Vauchez has formulated, "the procedures for the canonization served above all to stem the rising tide of new sanctity."[36]

This sounds reasonable but needs further research. The flourishing of local cults with little or no control obscured the boundaries between officially recognized and non-official sanctity. Furthermore, the huge surge of late medieval Marian and Eucharistic cults was difficult to control and could create problems, too, with anti-Judaic and other issues being attached.[37] The papacy was under constant pressure by these developments and could not think of easing the rules. Be it out of a deliberate pondering of pros and cons of developing the framework of the process of canonization – of which there are no traces in the sources – or more an unconscious reacting to day-to-day developments and challenges, the result was a lack of any papal, curial, or canonistic initiative to tackle and simplify the legal and procedural hurdles and obstacles of papal canonizations.

---

[35] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 81; Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints," 73.

[36] "la procédure de canonisation a surtout servi à endiguer les flots montants de la nouvelle sainteté," André Vauchez, "Conclusion," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 361.

[37] For Marian cults, see Gabriela Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt: Hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an den Typus der hochmittelalterlichen Wunderpredigt* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995). For eucharistic cults intertwined with anti-Judaic persecution and pogroms, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

5 Regional and Typological Aspects

A rather overlooked topic in the research on hagiography and canonization is the regional aspects and differences. The cult of saints as a whole, as well as the canonizations, are often treated and presented as if there were no regional differences and variations, as if the hagiographical patterns and behaviours were the same from Lapland to Sicily and from Ireland to Hungary. Regional differences found, however, an interesting and still very valuable treatment by André Vauchez in his basic study from 1981, but they have hardly been studied in depth since, at least not in a comparative way, despite there being a broad range of modern local and regional studies.[38]

Are regional differences in the cult of saints simply an outcome of the Christianization of a certain region? Or is it rather a question of the later political, administrative, and liturgical closeness to Rome by the local church leadership? These points were surely relevant, but they need to be viewed in a wider context and in comparison with other regions. They should be studied in comparison with church and secular politics on a European level – this has thus far never been the object of a larger research work.

An important point in this regard is the anti-heretical fight of the papacy, which dominated canonization policy for most of the thirteenth century, putting considerable challenges to canonizations and the establishment of new cults in those regions of Western and Southern Europe where heretical movements had their stronghold. It would therefore seem logical, from the papal point of view, to promote new cults and papal canonizations in those regions in the north and in the east, which had not or had only marginally been affected by heretical movements and which had therefore also remained outside of the vigorous critiques against the cult of saints by the heretics. Was this the case?

The northernmost part of Europe, Scandinavia, and the northern Baltic Sea area were an ideal ground in this sense. The process of Christianization had started in these regions only late, from the ninth century onward, leaving them devoid of a thick layer of local sainthood from the Early Middle Ages. Northern Europe had, with the exception of some southern parts, not been touched by any of the bigger heretical movements. The cult of saints remained popular in the North up until the very end of the Middle Ages and even beyond. The Reformation in Scandinavia, in contrast to German and other territories of Central Europe, was not supported by popular movements but rather forcibly introduced from above by secular rulers. One of these rulers was Gustav Vasa of Sweden, who simply wanted to confiscate the wealth of the church for his war chest; he used the church reformation as a pretext for this operation. A spiritual transformation and reformation at the grassroots level occurred only slowly during the following centuries. Popular forms and reminiscences of the cult of saints are discernible in sources well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond.[39]

---

[38] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*. Haki A. Antonsson and Ildar Garipzanov, ed., *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe* (*c. 1000–1200*) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

In papal canonization politics, the north was already playing an interesting role early on. One could even claim that Scandinavia was in the center of papal canonization politics, with the famous letter by Alexander III to the king of Sweden (*Audivimus*) taken up as a central piece, when Gregory IX introduced the papal prerogative in 1234.[40] The fact that the pope used for this purpose just a letter to a northern ruler, and not a letter to a ruler in a country much closer to Rome and one that was better known, has in research often been regarded as a pure coincidence.[41] I would, however, rather argue that this was not a casual choice but was based on the relatively strong position of the north in papal politics in general and in the early development of canonization matters. The strong position of Scandinavia has already been noted by André Vauchez in his seminal work: Scandinavian cases of attempted and successful canonizations constitute a very high percentage of all European cases at the time.[42]

An interesting array of papal correspondence with rulers in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries points to an earlier papal interest in the north of Europe. The focus of these letters was on missionary work and on the early church organization in the north, but these issues were always intertwined with the cult of saints. Papal legates crisscrossed the whole Baltic Sea area and were closely involved in the most important developments of secular and church politics in the area, including missionary issues, church organization, and the cult of saints.[43]

---

[39] See Raisa Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016) and Raisa Toivo, "Protestantism, Modernity and the Power of Penetration: Saints and Sacrifice in 17th Century Lutheran Finland," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c.1300–1700*, ed. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 75–103.

[40] Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles."

[41] See Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation"; Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Wetzstein, "Saints and Relics."

[42] Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*; Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*.

Scandinavian canonization cases, mostly from Denmark, were already of wider interest well before 1234. They coincided several times with the use or introduction of new procedural features for the canonization of saints. An early example is the canonization of King Canute IV of Denmark (d. 1086), apparently decreed in 1099 or 1100 by Paschalis II. Papal documents are not preserved, but a report and letters by Ailnoth of Canterbury (or Odense) can give us a fairly accurate picture of the application by the Danish king and the bishops to Rome, the ensuing scrutiny, and the handling of the case at a synod in the presence of the pope. This was an early stage in the development of papal canonization procedures, and the central stage could still be a synodal congregation.[44] In this context, another significant feature is that the transfer of the relics of the saint, organized by the local bishop in April 1101 or 1102, was confirmed for the first time by the pope.[45]

Alexander III, a brilliant canon lawyer and the most influential pope (1159–81) for the early development of canonization procedures, used the case of the Danish Duke Knud Lavard in 1169 to introduce several new features in the canonization documents and formularies. King Valdemar I of Denmark had already tried in 1147 to push for a solemn *translatio* of the relics of Knud Lavard, his father. Archbishop Eskil of Lund, who was also papal legate for the Nordic countries, prohibited this with papal authority, because the canonization of a saint belonged exclusively under papal jurisdiction.[46] This can be seen as a clear sign for the close connections between the papacy and the North already under Eugen III (1145–53). In Knud Lavard's case, Alexander III used for the first time the formulation that a saint "had to be inscribed into the list of saints," meaning apparently not a specific list or catalogue, but rather a heavenly list. This formula later became a regular element of canonization statements. We also find as a new formulation the statement that the festive day of the saint was confirmed "by papal authority." Several formulations in the papal *littera* regarding Knud Lavard were then soon used again by Alexander III in the canonization document issued for Bernard of Clairvaux only a few years later, in 1174.[47] Alexander III's interest in the northern regions was by no means a mere coincidence. It was embedded in the knowledge that the papacy had acquired under his predecessors Eugen III and Hadrian IV (1154–59). Alexander III established closer contact with Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region than any pope before him.[48]

---

[43] See Christian Krötzl, "Das Mare Balticum aus europäischer Perspektive: Kommunikationsräume und Interaktion," in *Das Baltikum: Geschichte einer europäischen Region –* Band 1: Von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters, ed. Karsten Brüggemann (Stuttgart: Anton Hierseman Verlag, 2018), 543–75.

[44] See Ailnoth's report on canonisation: "Rex vero prudentissimus … legatis ad pontificem Romanum transmissis, gestorum facta innotescit et, ut devotioni fidelium auctoritate apostolica consulat, deposcit. Qui, episcopis per circuitum consistentibus aggregatis religiosisque ordinis viris venerandis quam plurimis, omnibus sinodali more assidentibus … Rerum igitur gestarum apicibus in palam prolatis atque perlectis, regiisque mandatis ab internunciis facunde peroratis … ac ita demum communi consilio et pari omnium decreto regem quondam gloriosum beatorum in celis iam martyrum ascisci decernunt collegio", *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, ed. M. Cl. Gertz (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder till Dansk Historie, 1908), 129–30. See on this also Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 55–57; Krafft *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 72.

[45] Diplomatarium Danicum, 1:2, nr. 29, 66. For the wider political context of this case in the Northern and Baltic Sea area see also Christian Krötzl, "Papsttum, Mission und der Norden. Das Zusammenspiel von Zentrum und Peripherie," in *Livonia – a Region at the End of the World*, ed. Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser (Köln: Böhlau, 2017,) 191–92.

[46] "Id ne fieret, auctoritate pontificali interdixit," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 202.

Another case of a Nordic saint illuminates the relations to papal curia even if Kjeld (Ketillus) of Viborg (d. 1150) was not canonized directly by the pope. Clement III (1187–91) seemed not to be fully convinced of the quality of the documentation he had received. In a letter from June 1188, he delegated his power of canonization to Absalon, the archbishop of Lund, provided that he could find supplementary testimonies for the veracity of Kjeld's deeds during his lifetime and for his posthumous miracles.[49] The archbishop proceeded as suggested and proclaimed the canonization in July 1189. This northern case is a rare example of a delegated canonization, a procedure that was used in a few cases at the time but no longer followed in the following centuries.[50]

---

[47] "… ipsum de communi fratrum nostrorum consilio sanctorum catalogo duximus ascribendum, auctoritate apostolica statuentes, ut diem natalis sui VII. Kal. Iulij celebretis," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 246–47; *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1:2. See Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 57–59, and for the reuse of papal *formulae* Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 116–20, 157.

[48] See more on these tight connections and the wider political context in the North and in the Baltic Sea area Krötzl, "Papsttum, Mission und der Norden," 194–97.

[49] "… quia tamen ad plenum de huius facti veritate non consistit firmiter, tibi per apostolica scripta mandamus, … illis precipue, qui vitam et conversationem ipsius novisse dicuntur, cum testimonio et asservatione ipsorum de operibus eius et miraculis, quibus post mortem proponitur coruscare, sollicitudine vigilanti requiras et, si tibi congruum videbitur et honestum, canonizes ipsius memoriam et sicut hominis sancti celebrationem habendam futuris seculis apostolica auctoritate decernas," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 275–76; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1:3, 236. Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 64–66; Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto*, 194.

[50] On the type of delegated canonizations, see the basic study by Jürgen Petersohn, "Die päpstliche Kanonisationsdelegation des 11. Und 12. Jahrhunderts und die Heiligsprechung Karls des Grossen," in *Proceedings of the fourth international congress of medieval Canon*

In the canonization letter for Wilhelm of Aebelholt, the abbot of the Danish Cistercian monastery of Aebelholt, Honorius III (1216–27) again introduced several features and formulations, which were of wider importance. They were used in later canonization documents. The three documents, which Honorius III issued in May 1218 and in January 1224 for Abbot Wilhelm, were quite long and vividly formulated, containing clearly not only standard phraseology but also references to the situation in the north.[51] The papal mandate of 1218, which ordered the start of the canonization enquiries, began prominently with a reference to the Devil, who, disguised as an angel of God, could deceive Christians and perform miracles.[52] In the much longer canonization document of 1224, we find references to the geographical situation of Denmark far in the north – where the Holy Church also sends its divine radiations – and to the deeds and posthumous miracles of Wilhelm. They were so numerous that the pope states he would be an unworthy vicar of Christ if he did not proceed with the canonization. Furthermore, the abbot was depicted as a patron for the whole realm of Denmark, which was also a rather unusual formulation in canonization documents of this period.[53]

From the 1250s we find two further cases from Denmark, which are closely linked to royal and church politics in the North. They reflect, however, at the same time also wider changes in canonization politics after 1234. King Eric IV (Plovpennig) of Denmark, who had ruled from 1241 onward, was murdered in August 1250 by his younger brother Abel. Eric's elder brother Christopher I, who became king of Denmark after a power struggle in 1252, began quite soon to strive for a canonization of his murdered brother. A supplication to the pope has not been preserved, but there are trustworthy sources for Innocent IV's (1243–54) answer, probably from 1252–54.[54] Direct sources on canonization

---

Law, Toronto 1972, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1975), on the case of Kjeld 181–82.

[51] On Wilhelm of Aebelholt see Vauchez, *La Saintété en Occident*, 295–96; Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 66–70; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 282–85.

[52] "Licet Angelus Sathane … inquiratis tam de vita ipsius abbatis quam de miraculis supradictis diligentius veritatem," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 382–83; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1:5, 192–93.

[53] "Sacrosancta ecclesia divina luce perfusa per orbem terrarum longe lateque radios sue illustrationis emittit … sicque inutiliter Christi essemus vicarii, si non faceremus ut venerarentur fideles illum … tota patria vestra tanquam sibi peculiaris eius sit suffragiis specialius commendata … ipse devoti populi se gaudeat esse patronum …," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 383–86; *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1:6, 4–7. On the formulations, see Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 283–85.

[54] For the sources see C. A. Christensen, "Drabet på Erik 4. Plovpenning og den begyndende legende-dannelse," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 7.R., 6 (1965–68), 22–23, on the political

enquiries are lacking, but the continuing interest of the local church and King Christopher I is shown in the *translatio* of Eric's relics in 1258 to Ringsted cathedral, where Knud Lavard was already buried. A collection of nearly fifty miracles as well as other hagiographical sources show a continuing interest for a wider popular cult.

Niels of Aarhus (ca. 1150–80), a son of King Canute V of Denmark, had already died in 1180, but his case was most probably taken up around the same time as an alternative way to get a Danish saint linked to the royal dynasty. A canonization initiative might have started in the early 1250s. A supplication by King Christopher I of Denmark, the archbishop, and the whole Danish clergy led to an interesting answer from Innocent IV in July 1254; the pope emphasized the need to proceed "with caution and maturity."[55] The following pope, Alexander IV (1254–61), was apparently not satisfied with the results of the enquiry. He expressed this quite openly in his letter of December 1255 referring to the instructions given by his predecessor.[56] The strong support of the Danish church authorities and King Christopher I was, it seems, not sufficient to achieve the canonization, thus reflecting the tightening of procedural rules and their strict application after 1234. The general shift in papal canonization politics from earlier dynastic models toward cases linked to the fight against heretical movements might have had an influence, too; these Danish cases no longer fit into the newer trends.

From Norway there are, interestingly, no known attempts to achieve a papal canonization for Saint Olav, by far the most renowned and venerated saint of Northern Europe. He died in 1030, well before the first clearly documented papal involvement in canonization matters. Similar figures were later subject to canonization processes from time to time, which means that there must have been some reasons to hold back any aspirations. They may have been related to Olav's not-so-holy past as a Viking warrior and chieftain.

It is noteworthy, however, that there were canonization attempts for Archbishop Eystein (Augustinus) Erlendson of Nidaros (1120–81). He was the author of the most influential hagiographic literature on Olav (*Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi*). The provincial synod in Nidaros in 1229 made a decision to canonize

---

context see Svend Clausen, "Hellighed og magtspil. Helgenkåringens vanskeligheder i Danmark efter 1234," *Historisk Tidskrift* (2009): 306–18. See also Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 73–75.

[55] "Verum quia in tam sancto et pio negocio est cum gravitate ac maturitate previa procedendum," *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, 394. On Niels and his miracles, see Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 70–73; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 427.

[56] "tamen negocium minus sufficienter instructum ad sedem apostolicam remisistis," *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1:1, Nr. 169, 139–40.

Eysten and to effectuate a solemn *translatio* of his earthly remains; this is documented only in a saga, but it seems probable.[57] After this decision, one might assume, somebody had informed the provincial clergy of the papal canonization prerogative soon to be promulgated by Gregory IX, which led the clergy to abstain from the original plan. All in all, the supplications by the later archbishops of Nidaros and by the kings and the nobility of Norway led to five commissions of enquiry nominated by four different popes: Gregory IX in 1241, Innocent IV in 1246 and 1251, Alexander IV in 1255, and finally Clement IV in 1268. Results and files of the enquiries have not been preserved, but the papal documents reveal interesting clues. Despite the apparent papal reluctance to proceed to the final stage, this case clearly had a wider significance and even model character. The formulations of the first papal letter by Gregory IX in 1241 (*Ut corda fidelium*) served as a model for many later canonization enquiries throughout Europe, and they were also included in important and widely used formulary books of the papal chancery, as in those by Marinus of Eboli and Richard of Profi.[58]

Nordic promotors of canonization inquiries – even those whose petitions did not lead to a successful canonization – did not spare any costs and were also willing and able to fulfill procedural prescriptions to the letter. The prime example for the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century requirements to achieve a papal canonization was the canonization of Saint Birgitta (1303–73) of Vadstena or Sweden in 1391. She was the only Scandinavian saint to make it to the finishline.[59] Even if the papacy had a strong interest in the canonization – Birgitta was politically a very influential defender of the papacy and its return to Rome from Avignon – the local promoters had to invest massive means and efforts to get the process through all the hurdles. Archbishop of Lund Birger Gregersson, the archbishop of Uppsala, the other Nordic bishops, and the Birgittine order were able to mobilize influential support and supplications from all corners of Europe, from the Swedish king (1375), from Queen Johanna I of Naples (1376), and even from Emperor Charles IV (1377).[60] The papal process was initiated quite soon after the death of Birgitta, by Gregory XI in 1375, and proceeded, in comparison to other processes, rather quickly, with intensive hearings taking place in Vadstena and elsewhere in Sweden as well as in Rome, Naples, and other places. Even in this kind of high-profile case, there was an interruption in the proceedings, which lasted for many years. The case was resumed in 1390.

---

[57] Hákonar saga gamla, cap. 162, 416. See Konrad Maurer, "Norwegens Schenkung an den heiligen Olaf," *Philosophisch-philologische Abhandlungen der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14/2, München 1877, 81; Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident*, 70; Martin Kaufhold, "Norwegen, das Papsttum und Europa im 13. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 265 (1997): 316–17.

[58] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ytre forhold, sprong, slaegter, saeder, lovgivning og rettergang i middelalderen (Oslo, 1847) I, nr. 23; DN VI, nr. 22, 23, 30. On the papal formularies and the wider ramifications of the Eystein case, see Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 311, 428, 552, 556.

[59] On Birgitta and her canonization, see Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 82–87; Tore Nyberg, "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 67–85; Cordelia Hess, *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008); Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 864–919.

The solemn canonization of Saint Birgitta by Boniface IX took place in October 1391, fourteen years after her death, which was a rather short interval for a late medieval canonization. It was a solemn event also for the city of Rome: because of the dislocation of the papal curia to Avignon and the ensuing Papal Schism, no canonization had taken place in St. Peter's for nearly a century. Birgitta's canonization remained in many ways a model for the following canonizations throughout Europe, and especially for the later canonization attempts from Northern Europe.

There also were wider ramifications and importance for the collective supplication in 1414 for the canonization of three persons of saintly renown, Bishop Nicolaus of Linköping, Bishop Brynolph of Skara, and the Dominican nun Ingrid of Skänninge. They were all linked, directly or indirectly, to Birgitta and her circles. Nicolaus was the bishop of Linköping from 1375 until his death in 1391; he had also been a close friend of Birgitta. He was a key figure in promoting Birgitta's canonization. Brynolph acted from 1278 until his death in 1317 as bishop of Skara. Ingrid founded in 1281 a Dominican nunnery in Skänning, where she died the following year.[61] Three joint supplications to Pope John XXIII were signed in March 1414 by the three Nordic archbishops of Uppsala, Lund, and Trondheim; the bishops of Linköping, Strängnäs, Västerås and Växjö; and King Eric of Sweden, in the name of the people of Sweden. A few days later King Eric, who was also king of Denmark and Norway at that time, also sent a personal letter of supplication to John XXIII, thus underlining the support from the highest echelons of the Northern countries, which were jointly ruled from 1397 onward in the Kalmar Union, founded by Queen Margaret.[62]

---

[60] Isak Collijn, "Inledning," in *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis*, ed. Isak Collijn (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1942–46); Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 864–919; Claes Gejrot, "The Emerging Birgittine Movement and the First Steps towards the Canonization of Saint Birgitta of Sweden," in *Medieval Christianity in the North: New Studies*, eds. Kirsi Salonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, Torstein Jørgensen (Turnhout: Brepols 2013).

[61] See the basic study by Jarl Gallén, "Les causes de Sainte Ingrid et des Saints Suédois au temps de la Réforme," Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, vol. VII (1937): 5–40; On Nicolaus and his canonization attempt, see Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 87–89; Johanna Tyynelä-Haapamäki, *Constructing Episcopal Sainthood in Late Medieval Sweden – The Cases of Brynolphus Algoti and Nicolaus Hermanni* (PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2022).

The case was then transferred to the Council of Constance, which decided to support and pursue the matter. The documentation preserved is rather rich, with letters by the popes, the Council of Constance, the local church, and secular authorities, as well as with vitae and miracle collections. The documents of the canonization enquiry and of the hearings are of a high legal and procedural quality, but despite of all these activities, and strong political and popular support, canonizations could not be achieved. Until the end of the Kalmar Union (1523) and the breaking of ties with the church of Rome, there were jointly pursued canonization attempts in the Nordic countries – not only for these three, but also in combination with other cases.

Katarina (born ca. 1331), the daughter of Birgitta had been a central figure in initiating the canonization efforts for her mother.[63] She organized the translation of her relics from Rome to Vadstena in 1373, but she returned to Rome in 1375 to promote the canonization of her mother at the papal curia. Katarina returned to Sweden and Vadstena in 1380 but died in just the following year. Veneration of Katarina seems to have appeared only much later, with a *Vita* by the Birgittine brethren Ulf Birgersson in the 1420s. After a collection of miracles had been commissioned by the bishop of Linköping in 1469, the bishops of Sweden formulated in 1474 a supplication for the canonization of Katarina, which was sent to Pope Sixtus IV, who named a papal commission of inquiry in September 1474. The *inquisitio in partibus* began in Vadstena in 1475, was halted, and then was resumed in 1477. The process never achieved its goal, despite the fact that the enquiry and the hearings were pursued with the best legal expertise and knowledge of the time. The collection of 190 posthumous miracles is proof of a widespread popular cult.[64] Sixtus IV allowed a regional cult for Katharina in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in expectance of a later papal canonization. The last papal statement confirming the regional cult for Katharina was issued by Leo X (1513–21).[65]

---

[62] 1.4.1414, *Svenskt Diplomatarium* II, nr. 1937.

[63] On Katarina, see Krötzl *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag*, 96–98.

[64] See Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 990, 1012–13. *Processus seu negocium canonizacionis b. Katerine de Vadstenis*.

The attempted canonization of Hemmingus of Åbo (Turku) points to some similarities to those of Brynolph and Nicolaus. He was bishop of Turku during 1338–66, and he knew Birgitta personally.[66] Toward the end of the fifteenth century there was apparently a local cult of Hemmingus in Turku, as stated in 1495 by Bishop Magnus of Turku. An application for a canonization was never sent to the curia, but a supplication to the pope was likely in discussion. This may be deduced from the preserved program for a lavish translation festivity in 1514; it explicitly followed the model of the canonization festivities for Bonaventura and Leopold of Austria. We might assume that the endeavors for a canonization would have proceeded had King Gustav Vasa not decided to cut all ties with Rome and to introduce the Lutheran Reformation.[67]

The northernmost parts of Europe do not appear marginal. They were geographically situated far from Rome but remained closely connected to the papacy during the High and Late Middle Ages. Scandinavian canonization cases played an important role during the formation period of a more organized way of papal canonizations in the second half of the twelfth century and the early decades of the thirteenth century. Even after 1234 Scandinavian cases played a prominent role and were often characterized by well-concerted efforts of the highest echelons of clerical and secular society. In many cases there was also considerable popular support as well as a meticulous application of legal norms and procedural rules by the promotors of the canonization attempts. Achieving the ultimate goal, a papal canonization, nevertheless became nearly impossible, even for areas with very close ties to the papal curia – for the Scandinavian churches there was only one successful canonization: St. Birgitta of Sweden.

6 Concluding Remarks

The long-term development of papal canonization from the twelfth century to the late fifteenth century shows some overreaching features that influenced and shaped the activity or the passivity of the popes. The most decisive factor preventing the further development of flexible canonization procedures was, as I would see it, a conscious or unconscious fear of losing control. This largely influenced and shaped the rule-setting activities of the papacy, as well as the decisions by individual popes on specific canonization cases.

---

[65] See Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 1012–13.

[66] Birgit Klockars, *Biskop Hemming av Åbo* (Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1960); Tyynelä-Haapamäki, *Constructing Episcopal Sainthood*, 207–8.

[67] "Så skedde i beati Bonaventura och Leopoldi canonizationibus," *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. Reinhold Hausen (Helsingfors: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1910), VII, nr. 5715.

The following stages can be discerned: initially, in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, when the popes were beginning to get interested in canonization matters, there were no clear rules. This led to a variety of approaches being used and tested in a rather liberal way. This changed with the initially slow, but from Innocent III onward steadily growing application of the *Ordo iudiciarius*. There were a few rulings only (namely *Audivimus*, *Venerabili*) that were used specifically for canonization processes. There was probably never any deliberate decision taken by the popes to abstain from developing dedicated rules for papal canonizations. The *Ordo iudicarius* was simply a convenient tool at hand and it seemed to fit well for the purpose; it was well known at the universities and by the steadily growing number of trained lawyers, which were employed for the canonization processes. This argument is strengthened by the activity of lawyers and notaries; the ones active at processes of canonization had often been previously employed at other types of inquisitorial processes and could later return to these duties.

The second half of the thirteenth century was the height of papal activity in canonization matters. At that point, more liberal rules that would have been better adapted to the procedural circumstances on the practical level could well have been initiated. The ongoing anti-heretical fight, however, consumed so much energy that this road was never taken. It was regarded, it seems, as a futile and potentially dangerous enterprise, opening too many possibilities for popular cults to quickly grow out of control and thus harming the goals of the papacy.

When the pace of papal activity in canonization matters began to slow down and the political influence of the papacy was steadily waning, there was even less incentive for a change, and the papacy partly lost interest in canonizations as a tool. The long intervals between canonization cases led many times to a knowledge gap. Personal experience was no longer available, which enhanced the need to refer to the increasingly complicated procedural rules of the *Ordo iudiciarius*. Fear of losing control also likely prohibited the introduction of more liberal rulings in the late Middle Ages.

Once installed, the legal and procedural hurdles were not changed; if any changes occurred, they hardly ever simplified the process. There was, on the contrary, a steady refinement and addition of more subtle requirements for all kinds of details increasing the duration and the formal requirements of processes as well as in the amount of personnel and lobbying needed. All this increased the costs for promoters, who had to finance everything. Achieving a canonization from the most refined bureaucratic machinery of the time had become a very exclusive matter. A positive outcome could only be achieved through large investments and a concerted action of the highest and most well-endowed ecclesiastical and secular circles.

Even the close ties of local churches, from Scandinavia or other parts of Europe, with the Roman curia did not help very much. Longstanding personal connections and support for the papacy could make some parts of the procedures easier to handle and could help get a process to the next procedural level. They did not overcome the massive hurdles of legal and procedural requirements demanded from all promoters. The popes were unwilling to grant any exceptions. Even for churches with close ties to Rome, the final goal of a papal canonization could be achieved only in very rare cases.

Neither the papacy nor the steadily growing number of higher clergy who were trained in the subtleties of canon law were interested in changing or simplifying the process of canonization. For the canon lawyers, the canonizations remained a marginal matter within the wide array of processes, litigations, and other types of inquisitions to handle. Without an incentive coming from the papacy, they were happy with the status quo and had no interest in aiming for a change. The Gordian knot of hurdles, procedures, and requirements could have been cut only by the popes themselves, but they never took any initiative toward a simplification.

In order to assess the overall development of papal canonizations there is still a need for more comprehensive and comparative research on a European level; regional variations and their local context need to be investigated and compared systematically. Furthermore, a more holistic approach to the cult of saints, corresponding to its large array of functions in medieval society, is needed. The cult of saints responded to crucial needs in religious and everyday life, empowering local communities to use and to modify it according to their own goals, resulting often in conflicts with higher church authorities. The papally sanctioned cults remained a rather tiny part of this wide range of cults from which medieval people could choose, which in turn explains why the steadily increasing hurdles for achieving a papal canonization did hardly ever lead to popular reaction and protest.

CHAPTER 2

God's Ordinary and Extraordinary Speech: the Determination of Miracles by the Roman Congregation of Rites in the Early Modern Era

Maria Teresa Fattori

1 Introduction

With the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588, the Roman apostolic authority centralized the procedures of beatification and canonization. Ancient and medieval tradition prescribed that the proclamation of blesseds and saints was entrusted to bishops assembled in a council. Yet, beginning with the establishment of the College of Cardinals, the public consistory in Rome was often involved in the conclusion of causes. In this case, bishops present in Rome could participate in the consistory, together with cardinals. Later modifications of the norms of beatification and canonization were made by Urban VIII (1624–44) and Benedict XIV (1740–58).

This essay has a twofold aim; first, it analyses the procedures in effect from 1588 until the pontificate of Benedict XIV, which defined the respective forms of beatification and canonization procedures. Next, the ways in which the Roman papal curia verified miracles performed through servants of God is discussed. Then, the history of sainthood is approached here from the perspective of canonical confirmation of this status: the discussion focuses on the acts and proceedings by which an individual's life, virtues, writings, and miracles – occurring both before and after death – were assessed to establish whether the person merited the appellation of saint within the church. Papal authorities also examined the case for martyrdom, investigating the circumstances of those who died for their faith, a practice that is still carried out today. On the other hand, the present essay does not consider the perspective of the faithful, nor that of officials involved in a canonization process.

The main source of this investigation is the *De servorum Dei Beatificatione et Sanctorum Canonizatione* (*On the Beatification of the Servant of God and the Canonization of Saints*) by Prospero Lambertini (Bologna, 1675–Rome, 1758), who became pope in 1740, taking the name of Benedict XIV. The first published version of this work was edited by the author himself and was issued in Bologna between 1734 and 1738. It was reprinted by the Seminary of Padua in 1743, with

© MARIA TERESA FATTORI, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_004

a revision of the Latin by Jacopo Facciolati. The definitive edition was issued in Rome between 1747 and 1751, edited by the Portuguese Jesuit Emmanuel de Azevedo and with the expenses borne by the Liturgical Academy of Coimbra.[1]

Lambertini began writing his work in the early 1720s, when he held his first office of consultor. Later nominated promoter of the faith, he wrote essays and small treatises on specific questions, which became preparatory drafts that went on to form sections of his famous treatise.[2] The DSD is the result of two lines of activity pursued by Lambertini during his lifetime, given that it collects the reflections of an erudite canonist on how to systematize and give order to both canon law and the curia. The work in fact attests to his involvement in canonization procedures, from his first position in the curia in 1708 to his efforts as consistorial lawyer, consultor of various congregations, promoter of the faith for the Sacred Congregation of Rites, cardinal, and finally pope.[3] The DSD became – and is still today – the reference text for procedures for the canonization of a saint. Indeed, the author not only puts his experience at the disposal of readers but also writes with great clarity, deploying a wealth of citations of works of history, theology, canon law, and hagiographic testimony.

---

[1] The Paduan edition was published by Jacopo Facciolati and printed by the Seminary of Padua, while the Roman edition was published by Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini. Hereinafter the title of the treatise will be abbreviated "DSD." For a reconstruction of its evolution, see Riccardo Saccenti, "La lunga genesi dell'opera sulle canonizzazioni," in *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV. Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2011) 3–48, 13–17; see *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione. La Beatificazione dei servi di Dio e la Canonizzazione dei Beati*, vol. I/1 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010), as well as "Introduzione" by Vittorio Criscuolo (9–71). This edition, published by Libreria Editrice Vaticana, contains a facing Italian translation; it is the final publication of the treatise, based on the Roman *editio typica*. The citations in this essay, both in text and the notes, are taken from this edition. The first book is divided into two volumes, cited as Liber I/1 and Liber I/2, which were published in 2010 and 2011, respectively. The second book contains Liber II/1 and II/2, published in 2012 and 2013; Liber III/1 and III/2 were issued in 2015 and 2017; and Liber IV/1 and IV/2 in 2018 and 2020. For the main editions, see Pietro Amato Frutaz, "Le principali edizioni e sinossi del *De Servorum Dei beatificazione et Beatorum canonizatione* di Benedetto XIV," in *Benedetto XIV (Prospero Lambertini) Convegno Internazionale di Studi Storici sotto il patrocinio dell'Arcidiocesi di Bologna, Cento 6–9 dicembre 1979* (Cento: Centro studi Girolamo Baruffaldi, 1981), vol. I, 27–90; for the general context of the topic of sainthood in the age of the Counter-Reformation, see Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35.3 (2009): 552–88; an interdisciplinary treatment of the pontificate of Benedict XIV can be found in *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science and Spirituality*, eds. Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher Johns, and Philip Gavitt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

[2] See, for example, the short treatise conserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (hereinafter BUB), Ms. 260 tt. I–II, "Delineatio prima operis de servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione ex ejusdem schedis et fragmentis collecta. Originalia prima": this work forms the basis of the juridical core of the treatise.

[3] See Maria Teresa Fattori, "The Juridical-Bureaucratic Roman Saint-Making Machine: The Apostolic Process in Benedict XIV's De Servorum Dei," in *Making Saints in a "Glocal" Religion. Practices of Holiness in Early Modern Catholicism*, eds. Birgit Emich et al. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2024), 89–120.

2 Beatification and Canonization Procedures of the Sacred Congregation of Rites

Canonization is only one aspect of the broader phenomenon of Christian sanctity, representing the final result of the selection. This selection was made by the central institution, the papal curia, on the basis of limited classification criteria. In the early modern period, the combined effect of the rigorous procedure and the strict criterion of saintly virtues resulted in only a minimal number of canonized saints.[4]

Over time, the procedure for canonization was centralized, as the following discussion shows. The establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588 by Sixtus V (1585–90) definitively assigned the evaluation of causes of sainthood to the papal curia.[5] Members of both the Sacred Congregation of Rites and the so-called Congregation of the Blessed, which was active between 1602 and 1615, held important discussions on the subject of the *cultus* of servants of God. As a result, in 1625 the Holy Office prohibited any form of public worship of deceased persons who had a reputation for sanctity but had not received recognition from the Apostolic See.[6] The DSD specified that "reputation for sanctity" referred to the common opinion of "trustworthy" persons (i.e., those socially and culturally worthy of the faith) who had the opportunity to witness the lives and deaths of the people in question. The decrees issued by Urban VIII in 1625 brought order to the procedure of canonization, in particular by calling attention to the criterion that would become crucial, namely the candidates' exceptional saintly merits of theological and cardinal virtues, the so-called heroic level of exercise of virtues.[7]

---

[4] See Simon Ditchfield, "Il mondo della Riforma e della Controriforma," in *Storia della santità nel Cristianesimo occidentale*, eds. Anna Benvenuti et al. (Rome: Viella, 2011), 261–329, here 295–97.

[5] Benedict XIV summarized these historical transitions: DSD Liber I/1, caput XV, nn. 1–17, 341–56, and caput XVI, 357–80. On the general consequences of Sixtus V's reform of the curia, see Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime. La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Mulino, 1982), 28–40; Maria Teresa Fattori, "Per una storia della curia romana dalla riforma sistina, secoli XVI–XVIII," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 35.3 (2014): 787–847; Maria Teresa Fattori, *Benedetto XIV e Trento. Tradurre il concilio nel Settecento* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2015).

[6] See Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 1988), 52–64, 116–17, 126–27, 350; on the Congregation of the Blessed, see Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 203–17 and 387–88.

The decrees concerning the procedures for canonization were promulgated in various phases: in 1625, in January 1631, in 1634, and finally in 1642. In 1631, it was determined that the promoter of the faith had to be present at all stages of the process, yet his censorial functions were only definitively established in 1642. On the whole, the reforms of Urban VIII both formalized canonical procedures and made them more rigorous.[8] On 27 September 1659 and 3 February 1660, Alexander VII (1655–67) made changes to limit the excesses of the veneration of blesseds, while in 1662 the brief for the beatification of Francis de Sales (1567–1622) became a model for the next three centuries. Successive papal decrees modified specific aspects of the process: on 10 September 1668 Clement IX (1667–69) added the re-examination commission; in 1733 Clement XII (1730–40) excluded consultors belonging to the same congregations as the examined candidates; and on 23 April 1741 Benedict XIV raised to four the minimum number of attributed miracles for a canonization process to be opened.[9] From 1588 to 1741, the examination of processes was centralized in the hands of the members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and in the last instance in those of the pope. Overall, the direction of the normative changes introduced from 1588 increased the rigor of the procedure.

Procedures were divided into two parts: in the first, the procedure was carried out following formalized steps, while in the second God enlightened and guided the choices of the pope, the cardinals and the consultors, thanks to a "turning point" emphasizing God's gift, *charisma*, in making the decision. The procedural phase also included programmed moments of reflection opened to the divine intervention, such as when cardinals had to listen in silence as they heard the consultors express their votes before they were able to cast their own. The proclamation of canonization was also centralized: this prerogative passed from general or provincial councils to the consistory of cardinals in the centuries between the Middle Ages and the first years of the early modern era, and from the consistory to the Sacred Congregation of Rites beginning in 1588; finally, in the decades between the decrees of Urban VIII and that of Benedict XIV, the ultimate decision rested with the pontiff, who also took charge of nominating the officials. As the supreme, charismatic figure, the pope became the center of the canonization proceedings. While during the procedural stage the process in many ways resembled a criminal trial, following the "charismatic turn" it took on the character of a conclave: like the election of a new pope, a decision of canonization was freed from all contingencies, interests, and human fallibility and was opened to divine intercession. Discussion of miracles formed but one episode in this complex legal and bureaucratic mechanism, which aimed at acquiring moral and juridical certainty of sainthood.

---

[7] See Fabijan Veraja, *Le cause di canonizzazione dei santi* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), 26, which refers the reader to the DSD for an analysis of the concept of *fama sanctitatis* (DSD Liber II, XXXIX, n. 7, 132–33).

[8] See the complete collection of the decrees of Urban VIII: *Decreta servanda in canonizatione et beatificatione Sanctorum.* […], (Rome, Ex Typ. Rev. Camerae Apostolicae, 1642); see also Pierluigi Giovannucci, *Canonizzazioni e infallibilità pontificia in età moderna* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008), 17–18.

[9] DSD Liber I/1, capitula XXXI–XXXIII, 630–74. On the exemplary value of the 1662 brief, see Fabijan Veraja, *La beatificazione. Storia, problemi, prospettive* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), 97–98; on the canon law aspects, see 69–79.

2.1 *Beatification of Servants of God: Juridical and Procedural Elements*

During the early modern era administrative and bureaucratic changes took place in the papal curia, intended to be the renewed center of the Catholic Church. As a response to the need for greater efficiency and speed in pontifical administration, the fifteen permanent congregations replaced the Consistory (Sacred College of Cardinals) for *res arduae et causae maiores*, that is, the most difficult questions and more important causes. Sainthood was certainly one of the causes in which the pope was obliged by the rulings of canon law to seek the advice of bishops and cardinals. The Sacred Congregation of Rites was specifically entrusted with beatification and canonization processes as well as the task of formally closing causes with the solemn proclamation of new saints. As with the other congregations already in existence – that of the Inquisition from 1542, of the Council (1564), of the Index (1571), and of the Bishops and Regulars (1572) – the Sacred Congregation of Rites was made up of a variety of officials: consultors, in their capacity as experts; cardinals, in their capacity as judges; a secretary who coordinated the work and recorded decisions; and – in the final phase of a process – the pope himself. The three most senior auditors of the Rota, the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, also had the right to sit in the congregation, together with several cardinal inquisitors. The reforms of Sixtus V relieved the consistory of its functions of governing the curia together with the pope, transforming it from a collegial power into a ceremonial, symbolic organ. By weakening the consistory and establishing the congregations as the true sites of government, the pope enhanced his absolute power.[10] Beginning in 1588, the consistory was merely entrusted with the final approval and proclamation of new saints, while the congregation took responsibility for the entire procedure.

To be declared confessors, candidates had to have an acknowledged reputation for sanctity, with miracles attributed to them, yet their veneration could not take the form of a public cult.[11] A bishop's tribunal oversaw the ordinary process, in which first the candidate's reputation for sainthood and then the miracles attributed to him or her were confirmed. Before 1588, processes carried out in dioceses could result in canonization; after the reform, this recognition could only be earned by means of an apostolic process. If veneration resulted in a public cult without the authorization of the congregation, the proceedings could not continue. Following the decree of 1642, the apostolic process could only be opened fifty years after the death of the saintly candidate; it then examined the doctrinal probity of the candidate's works and writings, including unpublished ones, in accordance with a procedure that was quite similar to the one adopted by congregation of the Index for the censorship of published volumes.

The proceedings of the process for the verification of sainthood, precisely described by Lambertini in the DSD, were divided into three phases, which were pre-preparatory, preparatory, and general congregations. Each of these was characterized by a specific type of session and involved a certain category of members who discussed the case, produced documentation, and voted to approve the three central elements of the procedure: the testimonies of the virtues ("merit") of the servant of God, the real circumstances of martyrdom, and the truth of the miracles (*signa*) realized by God through the intermediation and intercession of His servants.

The first phase, which took place in pre-preparatory congregations, was an innovation of the eighteenth century: these meetings were held in the *palazzo* of the cardinal sponsoring the cause and saw the participation of consultors of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and the master of ceremonies, in the presence of cardinals. Consultors and the master of ceremonies were invited but remained silent, as the cardinals were the ones who debated and voted to approve or reject the candidate's virtues and the case for his or her martyrdom and miracles. Finally, general congregations were held in the presence of the pontiff. These consisted of a discussion followed by a vote, repeated three times, by the consultors and cardinals on the candidate's virtues, martyrdom, and miracles; the choice was then made whether to proceed with the cause for beatification until its solemn conclusion. Beatification was a prerequisite of the canonization.

---

[10] See Massimo Carlo Giannini and Silvano Giordano, "Governare per congregazioni. La Curia papale tra pratiche istituzionali e logiche informali (XVI–XVII secolo). Una proposta di lavoro," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 53 (2019): 209–20.

[11] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXII, n. 2, 487–88.

The proceedings ensured that the decision was the fruit of careful deliberation and reflection, a circumstance that inevitably led to prolonging the procedure and increasing its costs: indeed, ten to twelve years could pass between the end of the ordinary and the beginning of the apostolic processes.[12] Quorum required by canon law was a simple majority, which corresponded to the legal procedure for voting in general councils and the Holy Office. At the same time, Benedict XIV made no secret of the fact that unanimity or at least a qualified majority of two thirds was a better and surer method, even though – as he acknowledged – these were difficult to achieve in practice. The number of cardinals who were members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites increased from seven or eight in the first two decades of the dicastery's existence to dozens by the mid-eighteenth century, a fact that naturally led to the proliferation of dissent and differences of opinion.[13]

The overall aim was to ensure that decisions were made with moral certainty and that all reasonable doubt was excluded.[14] The final verdict was in the hands of the pope: he quietly listened to the debates and witnessed the voting of the consultors and cardinals without comment; he then spent several days in silence and prayer before making his decision, which consisted of an affirmative or negative answer to the question, "Can the candidate be declared a blessed?"

2.2 *Canonization of Blesseds: Juridical and Procedural Aspects*

Urban VIII established that following the conclusion of the beatification process two additional miracles performed by God by means of the intercession of the blessed were necessary before initiating the cause for sainthood. The passage from the former to the latter recognition, then, was not a question of time but one of miraculous signs. On 10 September 1668, Clement IX instituted a special commission to carry out a severe examination to ascertain whether new miracles were truly so, and thus to decide whether a cause should be continued. This was the *commissio reasumptionis*, or commission of the reexamination. The decrees of Urban VIII stated that the passage from beatification to canonization did not require a complete repetition of the canonical process but could rest on investigations that (only) aimed to demonstrate evidence of new miracles.[15] For this reason, beatification conferred by the Holy See became the most important part of the procedure for canonization, as the steps leading to the latter process were the same, namely the sessions of the pre-preparatory, preparatory, and general congregations.[16] After the severe examination conducted by members of the congregation in the three meetings, the pope waited two or three days before proceeding. In that interval, he called on divine assistance before publishing his decision on whether to open the canonization procedure. As the verdict was ultimately the fruit of the papal *mens*, the pontiff took direct responsibility for it; his ruling was then communicated to the secretary and the promoter of the faith.

---

[12] DSD Liber I/1, caput XIX, nn. 11–14, 426–30.

[13] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXII, n. 15, 500.

[14] Cf. Pierluigi Giovannucci, "Dimostrare la santità per via giudiziaria," in *Storia, medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini Benedetto XIV*, ed. Maria Teresa Fattori (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2013), 277–96.

To begin with, the Congregation of Rites verified and sanctioned the candidate's saintly merits of cardinal and theological virtues, which had to be exerted at a heroic level. Then, it examined the miracles as well as the case for martyrdom when this was called for; finally, it had to positively resolve any doubts for the cause to be directed toward canonization with moral certainty. This threefold – fourfold for martyrs – approval had to occur by means of a qualified majority of two thirds of both the consultors and the cardinals of the congregation; although unanimity would be preferable, Lambertini recognized that it was not reasonable to expect it, given the great number and diversity of the cardinal members of the dicastery. The verdict was then brought to the consistory and voted upon by all cardinals and all bishops resident in Rome; approval or rejection hinged on the entirety of the cause (virtues, martyrdom – when relevant – and miracles) and whether it could be convincingly pursued to the stage of canonization.[17] Voting had to take place in the presence of the pope. After retreating for a period of prayer and reflection, the pontiff pronounced his final decision to the secretary of the congregation by responding to the query, "Can this blessed be declared a saint?" In instances where the pope gave an affirmative answer, a date was set for the solemn canonization, whose celebration took place in St. Peter's Basilica.[18]

---

[15] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXXIII, n. 8, 662–63. See Miguel Gotor, *Chiesa e santità nell'Italia moderna* (Rome: Laterza, 2004), 91.

[16] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXVI, 545–59.

[17] DSD Liber I/2, caput XLII, n. 10, 98–101.

[18] On the ceremonial aspects, see Fattori, "The Juridical-Bureaucratic Roman Saint-Making Machine," 96–100.

In the case of a blessed from antiquity whose *cultus* should be proved since time immemorial, for the candidates whose cults were proven by historical evidence, the procedures were quite different, and they were called *non cultu* and *casus exceptus*. For martyrs, an investigation of the causes and circumstances of the martyrdom had to be undertaken, including the servant's behavior and persistence in the faith at the time of death. As for confessors, miracles were required of martyrs; otherwise, the procedure for the latter was simpler. A parallel existed between miracles, which represented the divine corroboration of the sanctity of the blessed, and martyrdom, which confirmed that of the martyr.[19] Saintly virtues were a divine gift. The practice of virtues at the heroic level was a divine gift, giving to a saint the possibility to be involved in the divine nature of God.[20]

Proclamation of sainthood was a prescriptive act directed at the universal church to venerate sanctified persons. Compared to beatification, which was a permission, canonization represented a prescription founded on moral certainty, which became an infallible judgment.[21] Papal infallibility in canonization was defended by Benedict XIV, who used three types of reasoning: the procedure guaranteed that the verdict was based on diligence and reflection; the process was guided by divine inspiration, in fact, the pope expressed his verdict in the fullness of his authority, after prayer and a period of time spent in silence imploring the assistance of the Holy Spirit; and finally, historically there had been no evidence of cases of erroneous judgments on the part of the apostolic authority. At the end of the process, the ceremony of canonization symbolically celebrated the centrality of the Holy See and the infallibility of the Roman pontiff.[22]

3 Miracles and Their Examination in the Curia

At least two miracles were necessary to conclude the process of beatification, events that had to have been certified by eyewitnesses and verified by a scientist. For a blessed to be declared a saint, two further miraculous events had to be attributed to him or her; in many cases, candidates had an even greater number. In the absence of eyewitnesses, proof of four miracles was required, which was ascertained by indirect testimony. The requirement of four miracles was consolidated in 1741.[23]

---

[19] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXVII, nn. 8–9, 567–69.

[20] An exhaustive analysis of "heroic virtue" is given in DSD Liber III/1, capita XXI–XXII, 591–662; see also Giovannucci, *Canonizzazioni*, 77–79.

[21] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXXIX, nn. 1–14, 810–25.

[22] See Fattori, "The Juridical-Bureaucratic Roman Saint-Making-Machine," 109–112.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, miracles played an important role in canonization. Both the testimonies to miracles as well as consideration of what constituted a miracle in inquisitorial procedures were analysed.[24] While miraculous events were modelled on biblical examples, science and the discovery of the laws of nature constituted necessary points of reference. A miracle was an event that went against nature (*contra naturam*), took place above nature (*supra naturam*), or, in the final instance, occurred outside the laws of nature (*praeter naturam*). The event could be triggered by words uttered or rites performed by the candidate or by means of prayer on the part of the faithful. In either case, a miracle was to be ascribed to the merits of the mediator, although it was effected by God. Finally, miracles strengthened the faith, clarified contested doctrines, and enhanced the value of moral practice.

In early modern times, miracles were a controversial topic, an object of criticism from various quarters: while Protestant confessors contested not so much the reality of miraculous signs as the use that the Catholic Church made of them to justify sainthood, rationalist thinkers cast doubt on their plausibility from the point of view of reason and science. We should, then, not be surprised that in his treatise Lambertini took aim at a wide range of heterodox writers: on the one hand, he refuted Protestant critics on the question of the seriousness of the Catholic Church's procedures for verification; on the other, however, he adopted a Protestant perspective – albeit still that of a Christian believer – to counter the objections to miracles on the part of cynics and nonbelievers, intelligently citing the same passages that they opposed. His responses, then, served to rebut heterodox authors (heterodox in Catholic perspective) in order to establish official Catholic orthodoxy; at the same time, he used them apologetically to strengthen arguments defending the Christian faith against unbelievers.[25]

---

[23] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VI, n. 1, 216–17, which cites the decree of 31 March 1743 of the Blessed Jane Frances de Chantal, founder of the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary.

[24] On the medieval procedure, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: 2018), 1–39, esp. 15–24; and Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 43–73.

[25] See also the case of the Calvinist English nobleman who read the Congregation's statement of several miracles attributed to John Francis Regis, which the Congregation had

The existence of miracles was proven by the testimony of direct eyewitnesses.[26] If these persons were no longer alive at the time of the process, the promoter of the faith had to have had recourse to historical testimony, the evaluation of which would be carried out with the aid of the methodology of history, philological analysis of the *positiones*, and verification of the reliability and coherence of the evidence. We note here in passing that in the early modern era the promoter of the faith – the Devil's advocate – took over the role played by the inquisitor in processes of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Persons of different status were accepted as witnesses: pious men and women, nobles, persons worthy of the faith. Lambertini excluded the testimony of minors – boys under the age of 15 and girls under 13; he accepted women as witnesses if there were no specific objections and accepted poor people as long as they were not motivated by economic interests. Poverty, he wrote, conditioned people, even though it was not their fault; it was therefore necessary to admit only those indigent witnesses who lived honestly.[27] Heretics and infidels were excluded from giving testimony, except in cases in which they provided positive evidence with regard to the Catholic virtues of candidates or martyrs. In the medieval juridical tradition, the personal credibility of observers was crucial to create a shared acceptance of empirical facts: on the basis of such precedents, Lambertini constructed a foundation of rules for excluding certain types of testimony.[28]

An entire chapter of the first book of the DSD was devoted to the authorities who attributed or refused to attribute value to miracles. According to canonical norms, miracles were necessary for the causes of confessors and martyrs.[29] The sixth chapter of the fourth book of the DSD returned to the topic of miracles, reiterating that they were required in canonization causes to demonstrate the consistency of the procedures adopted by pontiffs – which was guaranteed by the beatification and canonization bulls – and by the Congregation of Rites following its establishment as the central institution for apostolic processes. Miracles, Lambertini wrote, were taken into consideration as evidence of the sanctity of the blessed or canonized individual or as signs that the divine will

---

rejected because the events were not adequately proved: DSD Liber IV/2, caput XXXIII, n. 24, 499: this chapter treats the force of the imagination.

[26] See DSD Liber III/1, caput V, n. 10, 114–15, for the number of witnesses, and n. 11, 116–17, for proof of the miracle.

[27] DSD Liber III/1, caput VII, n. 10, 175–77, and caput VI, n. 8, 137–39.

[28] See Giovannucci, *Canonizzazioni*, 215–18.

[29] DSD Liber I/1, caput XXIX, nn. 1–16, 595–615. Chapter XXVIII of the same book presents the views of theologians and canonists on the necessity of miracles (nn. 1–15, 574–94); see also Liber IV caput V, 164–215.

wished to promote the *cultus* or honor of a particular servant of the militant church. On the other hand, events were not accorded the status of miracles when these were simple, useful signs to stimulate devotion and esteem in the faithful or to confound the heterodox and enemies of the Catholic religion. Furthermore, it was impossible to know whether a miracle occurred as an act of overcoming nature in its visible-corporeal or invisible-incorporeal state: using the scientific terminology of his day, Lambertini excluded the possibility of knowing whether the miracle took place in one way or the other. Only in the former case could an event be technically labelled a miracle; otherwise, the meaning of the term had to be significantly broadened.[30]

As a consistorial lawyer first and a promoter of the faith later, Lambertini was involved in ascertaining the reality of miracles on several occasions.[31] In his treatise he approached the question with prudence, providing only examples of causes that were positively concluded with an official proclamation of beatification or canonization. Similarly, in presenting the virtues or actions of candidates, he made reference to causes that led to the recognition of sanctity. It is interesting to note that Lambertini mentions only one case of a rejected miracle, which occurred in the ordinary session of the congregation on 26 September 1741 in regard to a saint whom he does not name. This was the case of Blessed Camillo de Lellis, who later was canonized thanks to a miracle which Benedict XIV and the congregation subsequently judged to be so. Prior to this occasion, the pope refused to recognize several events alleged to be miraculous, deeming the evidence for them unsatisfactory, in spite of favorable votes on the part of the consultors, cardinals, and the promoter of the faith.[32]

Miracles, then, were phenomena that went against the laws of nature and could not be explained by science, which discovered and investigated those laws. The fullness and unlimited power of the divine liberty guaranteed the possibility that God could subvert, suspend, and modify the mechanisms of the tangible world, even after He had conferred order on nature by means of laws that aimed to conserve and give regularity to the material universe.

Benedict XIV dedicated the fourth book of the treatise to the description of events that exceeded or surpassed the power and order of nature.[33] This section of the treatise, written in the early 1730s, was originally conceived as a smaller, separate work with the title *Notae de miraculis*.[34] Among the signs that belong to the supernatural order, the first chapter of the fourth book mentions Christ's incarnation and resurrection, the Virgin Mary's conception and delivery, the sending of the Holy Spirit, the sacraments, and the glorification of bodies.[35] The chapter goes on to analyse different aspects of miracles: what can be considered a miracle in general; what should be understood as an unusual cause; which miracles depart radically from the course of nature; which miracles depart from nature in relation to the subject of the event; and which miracles depart from nature only minimally.[36] To exemplify these cases, the author chose examples from Scripture or from hagiographies examined by the congregation.

---

[30] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VI, n. 10, 237. The arguments of the sixth chapter are strengthened in the seventh (nn. 1–21, 244–76), which responds to French theologians and works.

[31] See Criscuolo's "Introduction" to DSD Liber IV/1, 5–23, 19–20.

[32] DSD Liber IV/1, caput XIX, n. 33, 687; the case is discussed by Criscuolo, "Introduzione," 22–23.

[33] DSD Liber IV/1, caput I, n. 4, 30.

In addition, Lambertini discussed and refuted the basis of three heterodox positions on the topic of miracles. To begin with, he opposed the view of Baruch Spinoza, who rejected any type of miracle: the Jew of Portuguese origin in fact denied the possibility that nature could be subverted, because the laws of nature were divine decrees; if they were to be modified, he argued, God would stand in contradiction to Himself, thus negating the principle of divine immutability.[37] Lambertini rebutted Spinoza's position by drawing on the authority of Thomas Aquinas and more recent authors who contested Spinozian thought: Aquinas had written that a miraculous action as an efficient cause could only be attributed to God. The second position rejected by Lambertini was that of an English theologian, Thomas Woolston, whom the Anglican Church considered a heretic and whose work was burned following a decree issued by the House of Lords. Listing the miraculous signs of Jesus Christ, Lambertini rebutted Woolston's denial of the historical reality of the miracles of the Gospels and his claim that they were merely ornamental. Finally, the author took issue with the French Oratorian Nicolas Malebranche, who proposed attributing the miracles witnessed in the Old Testament to angels: Lambertini countered that agency for such events must be ascribed to God, who acted by using angels as ministers for His extraordinary works.[38] When miracles were performed by servants or angels, they were instruments of the divine will, such that blesseds and saints were only their moral but not their physical cause.[39]

---

[34] See Emidio Alessandrini, *"Creder tutto e … creder nulla". Il Notae de miraculis: opera inedita del cardinal Prospero Lambertini (Benedetto XIV) sui fenomeni straordinari e magico-superstiziosi*, Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Theologia morali consequendam (Assisi: S. Mariae Angelorum, 1995). A new edition of the *Notae de Miraculis* has been edited by V. Grimaldi (Roma: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 2024); cf. Maria Teresa Fattori, "Miracoli. Il discernimento secondo il *De Servorum Dei*," 383–412.

[35] DSD Liber IV/1, caput I, n. 1, 27.

[36] DSD Liber IV/1, caput I, n. 7, 34–36.

[37] DSD Liber IV/1, caput I, n. 11, 48; Lambertini cites chapter 6 of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, originally published in Amsterdam in 1670 by Jan Rieuwertsz (albeit anonymously and under a false publisher's name). Lambertini did not possess a copy of the *Tractatus* in his personal library (see the catalogue in BUB, Ms. 425 vols. I–IV, viewable online at https://bub.unibo.it/it/collezioni-e-cataloghi/Benedetto-XIV); he therefore probably referred to the work indirectly. The *Tractatus* was placed on the Index by a decree of the Congregation of the Index of 3 February 1679: see *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*, ed. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda (Montréal: Centre d' Études de la Renaissance, 2002), 850.

In the second chapter, Lambertini denied the possibility that wicked angels and demons could produce extraordinary signs, analysing passages of the New Testament that had been interpreted by medieval or contemporary theologians. The author favored historical hermeneutics over allegorical or figural interpretations of biblical passages, such as the narration of the Creation in Genesis.[40] Evil, heterodox, and schismatic persons could perform miracles to prove virtue or good practice but could not effect miraculous signs that confirmed the truth of the faith.[41] The ultimate purpose of miracles, as the Bible made clear, was to proclaim the glory of God, the truth of the doctrine of the faith, and the authenticity of practices that verified an individual's goodness and sanctity.[42] According to the Gospels of Matthew and John, Jesus himself produced clear signs to confirm the faith in the truth of his being the Messiah, the Son of God. Nonetheless, the Congregation of Rites and the promoter of the faith in particular had to distinguish between true and false miracles by following a tested procedure.[43] Doubt was indeed the main instrument to be employed by the promoter: the trustworthiness of witnesses had to be established, given that they could feign their testimony or even lie (books II and III of the DSD). One could call into question the factual reality and occurrence of an event that exceeded the forces of nature; one could attribute the sign to the trickery of the demon; or, finally, one could base one's scepticism on the fact that the event did not appear to go beyond the forces of invisible and incorporeal nature.[44]

---

[38] For the criticism of Woolston, see DSD Liber IV/1, caput II, nn. 1–10, 60–82: n. 3, 64. See also Thomas Woolston, *A discourse on the miracles of our Saviour: in view of the present controversy between infidels and apostates* (London: 1727); as in the case of Spinoza's *Tractatus*, this volume did not form part of Benedict XIV's library. For the criticism of Malebranche, see DSD Liber IV/1, n. 8, 72–73; although the work is not cited, Benedict XIV possessed a copy of *De Inquisitione Veritatis* (Geneva, apud Fratres De Tournes: 1753), BUB, Ms. 425 t. II, f. 537 (e). Malebranche's volume was placed on the Index by the decree of 17 January 1707: see *Index librorum prohibitorum*, 574.

[39] DSD Liber IV/1, caput II, n. 10, 78.

[40] DSD Liber IV/1, caput III, n. 11, 98–99.

[41] DSD Liber IV/1, caput III, nn. 1–21, 83–129.

[42] DSD Liber IV/1, caput IV, n. 1, 130–31.

[43] DSD Liber IV/1, caput IV, nn. 7–8, 146–49.

In sum, Lambertini was searching for a middle way between an indiscriminate acceptance of the reality of every miracle and a disbelief of all of them: he held on to the possibility that miracles were real by making them less probable.[45] In the view of Benedict XIV, miracles were necessary to prove that canonization was deserved: this had always been the "practice" of the Holy See, given that these signs constituted the divine demonstration of sanctity.[46] Finally, the confirmation of sainthood lay not only in those miracles performed during the individual's lifetime but those effected after his or her death: in this case, the faithful attributed such events to the intercession of the persons considered to be holy.

Let us now discuss the curial procedure for ascertaining miracles. Verification began only after approval of the candidate's virtues. For the examination of miracles as well, Lambertini presented cases that taught the "tricks of the trade" to the postulator of the cause and the promoter of the faith, that is, to the advocate who sought to demonstrate the sanctity of the servant in question and to the curial official who had to present doubts as to his or her sanctity, reservations that needed to be resolved to clear the way for the declaration of sainthood. The case of Saint John Francis Regis was used as a positive example to demonstrate how postulators managed to clear up doubts during their skilful exposition.[47] Another case regarded the ability of the consecrated Eucharist and Agnus Dei to confer grace, and even to heal. This power of transmitting grace and perhaps of performing miracles increased if the consecrating priest was particularly holy and devout, as Lambertini showed in the case of a miracle that occurred through contact with the Lamb of God consecrated by Saint Pius V. Agnus Dei were objects, made by wax, moulded in the shape of a lamb. They were blessed by the pope during the Holy Week.

When miracles were performed by a group of saints, Lambertini recommended the solution that he himself presented to the Congregation when he was promoter, in the context of an event attributed to the seven blesseds who founded the Order of Servants of Mary. In that case, the congregation had to decide whether the miracle could count for all or only one of the four candidates for sainthood.

---

[44] DSD Liber IV/1, caput IV, n. 13, 161.

[45] See Alessandrini, *Creder tutto e … creder nulla.* (Roma 2024), 119–58.

[46] DSD Liber IV/1, caput V, nn. 1–29, 166–215: n. 5, 171.

[47] DSD Liber IV/1, caput V, n. 8, 183.

In general, the treatise suggested that rules should be modulated through meticulous attention to the specific circumstances of each individual case, therefore excluding the possibility of drawing general conclusions from particular situations. This was the guiding principle that Lambertini proposed to his colleagues: general indications had to be brought to the level of concrete cases.[48] Lambertini concluded his discussion with a concise admonition: no rules could submit divine judgment to human evaluation. God might perform miracles without being implored by anyone, He might refuse to acquiesce to the requests of saints and others dear to Him, or He might hear the prayers of only one or two of His servants.

The power of miracles derived from the fact that they confirmed the Christian truth.[49] That is, miracles constituted the splendid testimony of the faith given by God to all believers; they attested to the devotion and sanctity of those whose merits, prayers, and intercessions were sanctioned by their occurrence. True miracles differed from false ones in their effectiveness, usefulness, mode of manifestation, purpose, person, and occasion. Yet, faith in the possibility that miracles could occur was rooted in the promise given to the disciples of Jesus – communicated in the Gospel of Mark (16:17–18) – that they could occur through them. An entire chapter of the treatise argued against the possibility that Jansenists and heretics could perform miracles. If the entire canonical process and the procedures outlined in the DSD could be applied to false miracles as well, unacceptable and paradoxical conclusions would be reached.[50]

---

[48] DSD Liber IV/1, caput V. Such cases are presented in n. 21, including that of Peter of Tarentaise: 202–203.

[49] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VII, n. 7, 251.

[50] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VII, n. 21, 275. This chapter was added in the Roman edition of the DSD, as the work by Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron, *La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de m. de Paris [François de (1690–1727)], et autres appelants, demontrée contre M. l'archevêque de Sens, s.1.* ([Paris]: 1737) had been published in the meantime. Carré de Montgeron was a deist philosopher with Jansenist views who later converted to Catholicism. He was condemned as a heretic by the decree of the Holy Office of 18 February 1739. In addition, Antoine Vichon, a theologian who converted to Protestantism, took up several of these points in his *Des Vœux, Critique générale du livre de M. de Montgeron* […] *ou Nouvelles lettres sur le miracles* (Amsterdam: Henri Du Sauzet, 1740): this work was also placed on the Index by the Congregation on 4 March 1743. See *Index librorum prohibitorum*, 284–85, 632–33. Lambertini indeed believed that had Carré de Montgeron read the DSD, he could not have written what he did.

The eighth chapter of the fourth book provides an overview of how officials should treat the healing of diseases.[51] Eleven chapters are then devoted to detailed analysis of specific disorders according to their symptomologies and possible, scientifically verified modes of cure. The pathologies treated here are paralysis, blindness, deafness and mutism, impeded mobility, epilepsy, hysteria, manias and hydrophobia, haemorrhages, hernias, leprosy, cancer, and fevers. A variety of topics are discussed in the remainder of the fourth book: exceptional events connected to childbirth; resurrections; the multiplication of objects; domination of the elements; extraordinary occurrences concerning animals or vegetation; stars; miracles regarding the body (such as illumination of the face, tears of blood, or long abstinence from food); spiritual and negative miracles; exorcisms and possessions; the incorruptibility of bodies or other transformations of the dead; apparitions; and, finally, effects produced by the imagination on human behavior and faculties.[52]

Testimony or certification of an act of healing constituted necessary documentation in a process; it was produced by the person who took care of the ill person and was presented by the postulator as evidence for the cause and by the congregation as part of the findings of the proceedings. In exceptional cases, the absence of such a statement could be substituted with the testimony of persons able to explain the qualitative aspects of the illness.[53] Without casting doubt on the orthodoxy of medical personnel, Lambertini took it for granted that all scientists involved accepted the reality of miracles in and for themselves. A miracle was an observable and verifiable fact: God's extraordinary action against the laws of nature that He Himself willed and created was limited to those cases that could not be explained through scientific knowledge of those same laws. Doctors and scientists were thus expected to substantiate external, observable, and verifiable reality in order to contribute to ascertaining the effective truth of the miracle.[54] If medical doctors were nominated by the postulator of the cause, they were considered biased experts; if they were appointed by the congregation they were deemed *pro veritate* experts. Beginning in 1678, promoters were required to produce the testimony of scientists, while in 1743 Benedict XIV introduced the register of official experts called upon to provide their opinion in processes.[55] The assessment of *pro veritate* doctors, chosen by the Congregation of Rites, was more highly regarded than that of their *pro opportunitate* colleagues.

---

[51] DSD Liber IV, caput VIII, nn. 1–36, 277–337.

[52] See Fernando Vidal, "Prospero Lambertini's 'on the imagination and its powers'," in *Storia, medicina e diritto*, 298–318.

[53] DSD Liber III/1, caput VII, n. 9, 172–75. See Giovannucci, "Dimostrare la santità," 292–93.

[54] See Marilena Modica, "Il miracolo come oggetto di indagine storica," in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, eds. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica (Rome: Viella, 2005), 17–28.

[55] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 4, 281.

A strict set of conditions limited the cases of acts of healing and the diseases taken into consideration. The treatise, in fact, defined seven criteria: diseases had to be severe and difficult to cure; if a patient was cured in the final phase of the normal course of an illness, when he or she was close to recovery by natural means, then the healing could not be considered miraculous; the disease cannot have been previously treated with medicine, or such treatment could be shown to have been ineffective (the postulator had to specify what medical care doctors had taken); a miraculous healing had to be rapid and instantaneous, perfect and lasting; the healing cannot have been accompanied by any form of evacuation (such as haemorrhages, intestinal discharge, sweating, passing of urine, vomiting, menstrual flows, or haemorrhoids) or by other natural crises; and, finally, there can have been no recurrence of the illness over the long term.[56] The treatise cited the pope's primary physician, Giovanni Maria Lancisi (1645–1720), who distinguished between acts of healing that were rejected and those accepted as miracles, in specific reference to the cause of Blessed John Francis Regis, who was subsequently canonized. The authority granted to doctors was not a novelty, given that in the first years of the seventeenth century the auditors of the Roman Rota invoked it during the cause of Ignatius of Loyola (the founder of the Company of Jesus was beatified in 1609 and canonized in 1622).

Juridical arguments were accompanied by considerations based on rationality and scientific observation. In the context of his statement that the act of healing had to be immediate to be regarded as miraculous, for example, Lambertini recalled that nature, by contrast, acts progressively, effecting recovery from an illness slowly over a period of time; this is what Paolo Zacchia (1584–1659), founder of legal medicine, stated in his famous treatise *Quaestiones medico-legales*.[57] Over the course of its decades of work in evaluating such cases, the Congregation of Rites had, in fact, learned to exclude acts of progressive healing that occurred following the candidate's invocation, as such events were due to mercy rather than miracles.[58] The decrees issued by the congregation accepted the *pro veritate* opinions of doctors, as Lambertini himself witnessed when he acted as promoter of the cause of the blessed martyr Juan de Prado.[59] In the case of Juliana Falconieri, the opinion of the doctor prevailed over Lambertini's own objections in his capacity as promoter of the faith, and the miracle was approved by the congregation and by Pope Benedict XIII with the decree of 5 October 1729.[60] Similar caution had to be exercised in evaluating a recurrence of the same illness: most of the canonists consulted believed that the return of a disease – the concept of which was indeed treated differently by different authors in both ancient and early modern times, such as Hippocrates and Paolo Zacchia – was a form of imperfect healing and therefore not miraculous.[61]

---

[56] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 2, 278, presents the cases, which are then analysed in the chapter until page 337.

[57] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 14, 297, which cites *Quaestiones* Libro X, consil. 9, n. 16. In his library, Lambertini had the fourth revised and expanded edition of Zacchia's *Quaestiones medico-legales* [...] (Avenione: ex typographia Ioannis Piot, Sancti Officij typographi in foro Sancti Desiderij: 1655) as well as his treatise *De' mali hipochondriaci libri tre del signor Paolo Zacchia.* [...] (Venetia: presso Paolo Baglioni, 1665). See BUB, Ms. 425 t. II, ff. 560 (m) and 562 (d). See also Silvia De Renzi and Luca Tonetti, "Zacchia, Paolo," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 100 (Rome: "Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani," 2020), available online at https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-zacchia_%28 Dizionario-Biografico%29/. Last retrieved on 29 October 2022.

Prudence compelled ecclesiastical authorities to distinguish between truth and fiction. Catholic authorities practiced attentive discrimination in rejecting events that were not miraculous; the caution exercised by the church in investigating miracles reached a level of rigor that was even greater than that proposed by Protestant writers. Lambertini's assertions aimed to influence practices within the Catholic Church, aiming to create a consistent, univocal path in making its decisions.

3.1 *The System of the Three Levels of Examination and the Thirteen Actors of the Process*

Doubts about miracles were handled by means of a scrupulous investigation carried out in three phases by consultors, cardinals, and the pope, who made the final decision. Yet the difficult task of determining beatification and canonization required the participation of a greater variety of officials, who indeed occupied thirteen different levels in the processes. Such a large number of curial actors in part responded to the need to gather and produce the documentation associated with each phase of the processes, such as the drafting of summaries of a candidate's virtues and the *informationes* on his or her life and works.

---

[58] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 16, 300.

[59] The case and the decrees of the Congregation and Benedict XIII of 17 February and 5 March 1728 are mentioned in DSD Liber IV/1, n. 22, 313–14, together with the *pro opportunitate* opinion of the Portuguese doctor Emanuele López and the *pro veritate* opinion of Giovanni M. Lancisi.

[60] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 24, 319.

[61] DSD Liber IV/1, caput VIII, n. 34, 333–34.

The pope and the cardinal members of the Congregation of Rites occupied the highest echelon of this structure. While at first the cardinals of the congregation chose new members as well as those entrusted with individual causes, the decrees of 25 February 1665 stipulated that the pope would appoint the cardinals, ordering each member to serve as the relator of one or more causes.[62] Together with the consultors, who were chosen from among regular or secular priests of the curia, the cardinals were the judges of the congregation. Both consultors and cardinals pledged to read documentation, listen to testimony, and participate in all the above-mentioned congregations and sessions; both further swore to keep secret each act to which they were privy; finally, they vowed to report unfair or illicit influences. Other figures were also involved in the processes: the protonotary, who recorded the decrees and – beginning in the eighteenth century – was entrusted with verifying the authenticity of documents; the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, who coordinated and organized the work of the members; and the judges of the Rota, who in their capacity as consultors voted on causes in the general congregations.

The promoter of the faith occupied the seventh tier of the hierarchy; in the wake of the decrees of 11 January 1631, he became the center of the procedure and the guarantor of the infallibility of the entire decisional process. The promoter had the responsibility of formulating the *animadversiones*, or objections, to each cause, whether these regarded the acts of ordinary processes, which were overseen by bishops, or those of apostolic processes that took place in Rome. Promoters were obliged to show all possible difficulties, weaknesses, and obscurities of causes before they were concluded.[63] Beginning with the decrees of Urban VIII, the promoter had to express *animadversiones* regarding virtues, martyrdom, and miracles, insofar as his doubts constituted the primary instrument by which the truth could be ascertained. His declarations were judged to be *pro veritate* and had to be recorded. He was chosen by the pope from the college of consistorial lawyers.

The eighth position was that of the congregation's notary, who was also selected by the pontiff. The notary was entrusted with checking the archive of the acts and causes of saints, which in turn was the responsibility of the ninth figure, namely, the archivist. The tenth level was occupied by the sworn translators of the drafted acts into various languages. Procurators occupied the eleventh position: they were the material compilers of the documents and acts of the Congregation. The consistorial lawyers were chosen from among a pool of twenty legal experts, while another twenty were nominated from the cohort of curial lawyers: these were chosen from among university professors or eminent canonists and experts in civil law. Their selection was carried out by means of a careful evaluation and a public debate. Last but not least, experts were chosen from the fields of medicine, physics, mathematics, and the natural sciences for the crucial step of verifying the reality of miracles. Such experts were first called upon to testify in a process by Innocent XI; they were laymen, albeit not ones who were completely external to the curia. They swore to compile truthful reports on the real occurrence of miracles. The necessity to ascertain the existence of miracles accounts for the congregation's need to call upon a wide array of scientists;[64] allowing them to express their opinions was indeed obligatory in processes.

---

[62] DSD Liber I/1, capita XVI–XVII, 357–96.

[63] DSD Liber I/1, caput XVIII, nn. 1–15, 397–416.

4 Conclusions

Through the DSD, Benedict XIV made known the procedures followed by the Holy See in beatification and canonization processes. This was the first time that curial decisional procedures were published and explained in detail. In 1739, Lambertini also published the decisions and solutions of the Congregation of the Council, the most important body in the interpretation of the Council of Trent, whose reports had been kept secret until then. In 1753, Benedict XIV further promoted the revision of censorship procedures through the publication of a reform. This measure strengthened the consent of public opinion around ecclesiastical pronouncements on scientific and intellectual production,[65] but it did so without compromising the rules of prudence that had been in effect for decades. In this case as well, the pope was guided by principles of fairness and transparency: clear, uniform norms were the best way to legitimate the work of the papacy. Publicizing beatification and canonization procedures was therefore motivated by the wish to be forthright in a context that was subject to multiple pressures and conditionings; at the same time, it was an operation of propaganda, demonstrating the learned caution exercised by the curia on the topic of miracles.

---

[64] DSD Liber I/1, caput XX, nn. 17–16, 431–33.

[65] *Thesaurus resolutionum Sacri congregationis concilii*, tt. I–III (Urbini: H. Mainardi, 1739); see Hubert Wolf and Bernward Schmidt, *Benedikt XIV und die Reform des Buchzensurverfahrens. Zur Geschichte und Rezeption von "Sollicita ac provida"* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoningh, 2011); Patrizia Delpiano, "La riorganizzazione della censura libraria," in *Storia, medicina e diritto*, 109–24.

Even though it appears in idealized form in the treatise, the apostolic process for canonization had to provide moral certainty and eliminate all reasonable doubt in the recognition of sainthood, such that the infallible judgment of the pontiff could be rationally and juridically upheld. Miracles were understood as God's confirmation of sainthood; they were the words of divine discourse. While God was the only source of Christian sanctity, the Catholic Church, which was entrusted with assessing God's extraordinary actions, was responsible for sanctity's concrete definition. God spoke through miracles and the Catholic Church through its procedures: in its examination of virtues and miracles, these two elements were joined together. The space for God's direct intervention above and beyond the laws of nature was sanctioned by Lambertini's treatise, even though this space was reduced and subject to scientific scrutiny. Science, in fact, could not explain certain phenomena through its analytical method and therefore had to affirm that these events were miracles.

The DSD details the functioning of the curial machine that was involved in investigating and approving causes for canonization. The author specified that scientific methodologies had to be employed to achieve certainty in the final decision and that scrupulous and costly procedures had to be followed, which could often require the passage of a great deal of time to set into motion. Canonization processes indeed brought together a wide range of operations: elements that recalled inquisitorial procedures to determine heresy; evaluation of witnesses and testimony characteristic of criminal trials; the epistemological rules of historiographical and philological methodology to give order to historical documentation; the rules for book censorship to evaluate the writings of sanctity's candidates; and the methods developed by the experimental sciences to analyse miracles.[66]

At the final ceremony, the entire curial hierarchy as well as ecclesiastics present in Rome unanimously approved the judgment made on the blessed or the saint, in conformance with the papal act, even in cases in which dissenting

---

[66] On the similarities between heresy trials and canonization processes beginning in the thirteenth century, see Peter Burke, "How To Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: Allen und Unwin for the German Historical Institute, 1984), 45–55: 45; Giuseppe Dalla Torre, "Santità ed economia processuale. L'esperienza giuridica tra Urbano VIII e Benedetto XIV," in *Finzione e santità, tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Gabriella Zarri (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991), 231–63. On Lambertini's medical sources, see Gianna Pomata, "The Devil's Advocate among the Physicians: What Prospero Lambertini Learned from Medical Sources," in *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment*, 120–49.

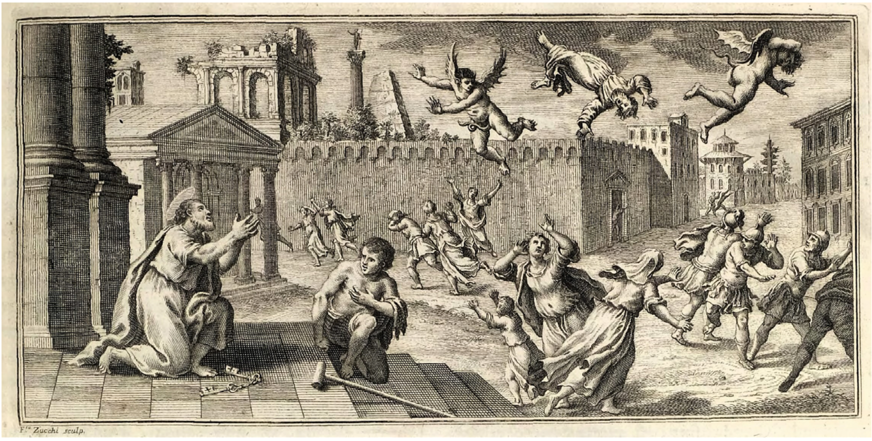
F.co Zucchi sculp.

FIGURE 2.1 Prospero Lambertini, *De servorum Dei Beatificatione et sanctorum canonizatione*, Liber IV, pars I, caput I (Romae, 1751), 1

opinions had been expressed in the procedural phase. While doubt was an instrument used to search for the truth during the process, once the pope proclaimed sainthood the unanimity of all the parts of the church represented in the curia was publicly shown. In accordance with bureaucratic procedures, the liturgical and ceremonial apparatuses had the paradoxical task of giving voice to the unsayable and the ineffable (see Figure 2.1).

CHAPTER 3

Transforming an Individual into a Saint and an Accused into a Criminal

Judicial Procedure in Canonization Processes and **libri maleficiorum** *of Italian Communes at the End of the Middle Ages*

Didier Lett

By the end of the Middle Ages, legal inquisitions had produced diverse and abundant documentation. Such procedures were customarily used when a judge sought to examine the evidence seeking proofs on which to found his own opinion, primarily by interrogating witnesses to arrive at a sentence. In the communes of Italy, the chief magistrate of the commune, the *podestat* regularly turned to such procedures when judging crimes in the town he commanded, crimes ranging from verbal insults to homicide, including assault and battery, theft, adultery, rape, or sodomy. This produced judicial findings that were recorded in registers of penal justice, *libri maleficiorum*, recording criminal decisions generally for a period of six months, corresponding to the term of a *podestat*. This documentation is part of what is termed *écritures grises*, "grey documents," that is to say, the ordinary notation of the daily administration of government.[1]

Inquisitorial procedure was also used, albeit much less frequently, whenever the pope saw fit to declare a canonization trial to determine a person's holiness, and therefore when he had appointed commissioners to investigate the case either in the Italian peninsula or in other parts of the Occident.[2] In that instance, the inquisition produced documentation that historians have long classified under the rubric of hagiography. In fact, like all the products

---

[1] This documentation is discussed in two recent volumes of collected essays: Andrea Giorgi, Stefano Moscadelli, Carla Zarrilli eds, *La documentazione degli organi giudiziari nell'Italia tardo-medievale e moderna*, atti del convegno di studi (Siena, 15–17 September 2008) (Rome: Ministero per I beni e le attività culturali, 2012); and *I registri della giustizia penale nell'Italia dei secoli XII–XV*, ed. Didier Lett. Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 580 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2020). On everyday handwriting, see Arnaud Fossier, Johann Petitjean, and Clémence Revest, eds., *Écritures grises. Les instruments de travail des administrations (XIIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome-École nationale des chartes, 2019).

[2] André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988).

© DIDIER LETT, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_005

emerging from the curial phase (*abbreviationes*), the process of canonization does not follow the logic of a mere *vita*, a collection of miracles, or an account of the transfer of relics.[3] Admittedly it does use hagiographic material, it describes the life and the miracles attributed to a person, but from the point of view of a historian what results is a special form of inquisitorial procedure, orchestrated and overseen by the papacy, the most highly developed bureaucracy of the Western world. So, it should also be considered above all as part of an archive produced by an administrative practice. André Vauchez noted as much: "Canonization proceedings are nothing other than a special application of the case of saints to the legal *inquisitio* that can be seen taking shape in all fields in the course of the thirteenth century."[4] Like all minor criminal cases treated in communal Italy, the inquiry *in partibus* starts with an initial disclosure (or defamation), presented as the consequence of considering a rumor. It aims, rationally, to examine the reputation, *fama*, with the intent of establishing an objective and absolute truth.[5] In this way, the canonization trial of Bernadino of Sienna (1445–50) begins with the words: "Here begins the trial seeking the truth of the life and the miracles" (*Incipit processus super causa inquisitionis veritatis vite et miraculorum*).[6] The customary start of an inquisitory inquest of penal justice in an Italian city, before the *relatio*, begins with

> This is an inquisitory inquest undertaken at the will of the above-named lord *podestat*, judge and the court of misdeeds, in keeping with the authority of his position and of his and their authority as *podestat* and by their office, to, against and counter to
>
> (*Hec est quedam inquisitio que fit et fieri intenditur per supradictum dominum potestatem, judicem et curiam mallificiorum ex eorum et cuiusquam ipsorum officio auctoritate potestatis et balia contra et adversus*)

---

[3] These are the three parts traditionally included in a hagiography. See Patrick Henriet, "Sainteté" in the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Age*, eds. Claude Gauvard, Alain de Libera and Michel Zink (Paris: Presses universtaires de France, 2002), 1272.

[4] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 3–4. For a description of how inquisitory procedure was applied to a canonization trial, see Roberto Paciocco, "Processi e canonizzazioni nel duecento. Documenti e riflessioni a proposito di Filippo di Bourges," *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 40 (2002): 85–174.

[5] Massimo Vallerani, "I fatti nella logica del processo medievale. Note introduttive," *Quaderni Storici, Fatti: storie dell'evidenza empirica* 108.3 (2001): 665–94. For the changes that took place in the thirteenth century with respect to proof, see Alessandro Giuliani, "Prova," in the *Enciclopedia del diritto*, vol. XXXVII (Milan: Giuffrè, 1987), 537–41.

[6] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino di Siena (1445–1450)*, ed. with an introduction by Letizia Pellegrini (Grottaferrata: Quaracchi, 2009), 3.

In the one case as in the other, an *inquisitio* is directed toward the potential saint or person guilty of a crime. The canonization process is called a *processus* but may also be termed *inquisitio* or *inquisitionis negotium*, matter of the inquiry.

Historians have failed to pay sufficient attention to the shared template, that is, the inquisitorial procedure of these two kinds of documents. They are treated as separate categories because the same scholar rarely examines judiciary sources and decisions concerning sainthood. As it happens, in the course of my research on communal Italian society in the Middle Ages, I have had reason to become familiar with both these kinds of documents.[7] This contribution provides me with a chance to compare these two types of documentation. They arise from two totally different authorities, two distinct levels of power – the local as opposed to the universal and sovereign. Nonetheless, they have clear points in common derived from the shared rules of Roman and canon legal procedure. Placing these two lines of history side by side also invites an attempt to show their differences.

1 Inquisitorial Procedure and Hegemonic Justice

Judicial inquiry, in ordinary use to judge those living in Italian cities who committed an infraction of the law in the later Middle Ages, arises directly from the papacy. It follows the lines of Roman and canon law connected to the decretal of Pope Innocent III, *Ut famae tuae*, promulgated in 1203 and formalized by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, *Qualiter et quando* declaring that crimes be punished in the interest of public utility: “It is in the public interest that crimes not remain unpunished,” allowing the judge recourse to an *ex officio* procedure. In his *Tractatus de maleficiis*, composed between 1286 and 1300, Alberto di Gandino presented rules to follow when judging crimes. He cautions that “misdeeds should not remain unpunished” (*maleficia non debent impunita manere*).[8] This adage is taken from an interpretation of the Justinian

---

[7] To cite only monographs: Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d’histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008); and Didier Lett, *Viols d’enfants au Moyen Âge. Genre et pédocriminalité à Bologne, XIVe–XVe siècle* (Paris: Presses universtaires de France, 2021); translation in Italian, *L’Infanzia violata nel Medioevo. Genere e pedocriminalità a Bologna (secc. XIX–XV)* (Rome: Viella, 2023).

[8] Hermann Kantorowicz, ed., *Albertus Gandinus und das Strafrecht der Scholastik, II, Die Theorie. Kristische ausgabe des Tractatus de maleficiis nebst textkritischer Einleitung* (Berlin: Wentworth Pr, 1926); Rubrique: *De transactione et pace in maleficiis faciendis*, cited by Mario Sbriccoli, “Justice négociée, justice hégémonique. L’émergence du pénal public dans les villes

Code: "It is important for the public weal for crimes not to remain unpunished" (*Interest rei publicae ne maleficia remaneant impunita*). The same idea sometimes appears integrated in one form or another into the text of the sentences pronounced by the *podestat*. So, in Bologna, on 2 June 1393, before pronouncing a death sentence against Francesco di El Trezza, a pedocriminal, the lawyer justified the need for a judgement, saying: "no crime should remain unpunished" (*ne delicta remaneant impunita*).[9] Municipal criminal courts were more and more likely to use inquisitorial means when judging major crimes.

Although in cases brought for the purpose of canonization, the *inquisitio* is the only procedure used, in criminal cases in Italian communes, *accusatio* remained in use for minor crimes, generally based on an initial denunciation, that is, with an anonymous accuser or known plaintiff. There are also, above all, many mixed or hybrid cases indicated by formulae like: "This is an inquisition … but also a denunciation and a complaint" (*Hec est inqusitio … nec non ad denumptiationem et querelam*) or "This is an inquisition … but also a denunciation and a report by an officer of the commune." Concerning a person the wording could have been *Hec est inqusitio … nec non ad denumptiationem et relationem*. In Italian cities, the inquisitorial procedure is flexible, meaning the opposition of *accusatio* and *inquisitio* inadequately represents the complex nature of reality.[10] On the other hand, *inquisitio*, the only term used in cases of canonization, is not flexible.

In the fifteenth century, in the context of Italian penal justice *inquisitio* has the upper hand. It reduces the tripartite system of *accusatio* wherein the accuser and the defense presented their case to a judge to a bipartite system: the judge takes on the role of the accuser. In the end, it becomes a simple process where judicial torture can be used to force the defendant to support the case of the accusation. *Inquisitio* becomes a face-to-face process rather than a horizontal relationship of three parties. As in the exchange between God and men, this vertical link is a power relationship, reinforcing the judge's authority as representative of God on earth over citizens. As inquisitory procedure extended into Italian cities, crime became a public matter. The judicial system became impersonal – one might say depersonalized. The purpose of legal

---

italiennes des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," in *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Jacques Chiffoleau, Claude Gauvard, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007), 413–14.

[9] Lett, *Viols d'enfants*, 247.

[10] Massimo Vallerani, "Conflitti e modelli procedurali nel sistema giudiziario comunale. I registri di processi di Perugia bella seconda metà del XIII secolo," *Società e storia*, anno XII, 48: avril-juin (1990), especially 280–81.

cases was public and universal. As in canonization, what motivated the case was God's justice. Negotiated justice bowed before hegemonic justice.[11]

2 A Solemn Case, Broadly Situated in Space and Time, or an Everyday, Local, and Rapid Case

The spatial-temporal differences between these two kinds of inquiries we are considering are essential to our understanding. In inquisitorial cases, there is always more information about space than about time. Space, much more so than time, is a constituent element of collective memory, for when we make an effort to recollect something, the places where it happened do not change. "Place alone is sufficiently stable to persist without aging or losing any of its parts."[12] Between the event – a miracle or a crime – and its reconstruction in court by the protagonists, even if the time elapsed is very short, it has passed in a circular fashion, forcing memory in circles, creating memory lapses. In contrast, the public square, streets, roads, houses, shops, fields, vineyards, and ditches remain unchanged and unmoved, offering more reliable reference points than the passage of time. In the Middle Ages, the heart of social organization depended more on space than on time.[13]

The process of canonization, extraordinary, solemn, authorized by the head of the Church, was sought by pressure groups for months or years before it began, requiring frequent visits to Rome or Avignon to persuade the pope to agree to start the procedure. The case of Nicholas of Tolentino (1305–25), for example, started twenty years after his death, although we do not know exactly when the papacy was approached for the first time. Generally, once the process was begun, those charged with the investigation went to the sites where the *fama sanctitatis* had made itself known and spent some months there, sometimes traveling all over the region. Nicholas of Tolentino's case went on for nearly three months, in the course of which the investigators covered about a hundred kilometers: on 7 July 1325 they were in the communal palace of Macerata. Then they went to Tolentino, where they stayed from Saturday 20 July to Friday 9 August, when they went to San Ginesio (some fifteen kilometers to the south), where they continued their interrogations from 12 to 22 August. On Friday, 23 August, they left for Camerino (nearly twenty-five kilometers to the west), where they remained until 3 September. Then they headed for San Severino (fifteen kilometers to the northeast), where they stayed until 8 September. In the morning of 9 September, they left San Severino for Tolentino (twelve kilometers to the east). Finally, on 11 or 12 September, the commission returned to Macerata (more than fifteen kilometers to the northeast) to bring the investigation officially to a close on 28 September.[14]

---

[11] Sbriccoli, "Justice négociée, justice hégémonique."

[12] Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997 [1950]), 167. Maurice Halbwachs devotes chapter III to "time and collective memory" (80–129) and chapter IV to "space and collective memory" (130–67).

[13] Jérome Baschet, *La civilisation féodale. De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*, (Paris: Aubier, 2004), second part, chapter II, "La structuration spatiale de la société féodale," 319–53, especially the conclusion, 351–53.

The nearly three months the commissioners spent in the region reflect the increase in the average time spent on such inquests *in partibus* at the end of the Middle Ages.[15] The decision to canonize or not would only be pronounced much later, after a phase prepared by the cardinals and their chaplains that resulted in the production of *abbreviationes* that would at the end of the process allow the pope to make a decision. The positive verdict might be delayed for many years. Nicholas of Tolentino was canonized only in 1446. After an enormous chain of written texts, canonization investigations were finally couched in one or more handsome manuscripts containing hundreds of parchment folio pages covered in beautiful writing by apostolic notaries.

In contrast, the inquisition into a case in the communes started very soon after the crime and rarely required the protagonists to leave the commune beyond the comings and goings of the nuncio, who came to call on the accused to appear or risk being condemned in absentia. Generally, the time between the commission of the crime and the start of legal proceedings was short. Many communal statutes explicitly ordered village or town officers, *ministrales* or *massarii*, to declare the crime quickly after it had been discovered. The statutes of Bologna, from 1335 to 1454, stipulated that the time elapsed should not exceed a week in the surrounding countryside (*contado*) and three days in the city for a crime known to the general public (*publica vox et fama*), and should not exceed a month in the *contado* or two weeks in the city for a crime noted by a petition (*requisitio*).[16] These normative restraints incited protagonists and local officials to lose no time to be sure that the crime would be considered by the court.

---

[14] On this itinerary, see Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, sixth part, 274–339.

[15] See Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 72–75.

[16] *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, ed. Anna Laura Trombetti Budriesi (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2008), 2 vols., VIII, 13, 605; see Sara Cucini, *Législation statutaire et gouvernement pontifical en Italie centrale. Le cas de l'administration de la justice criminelle à Bologne, deuxième moitié du XV*e *siècle* (PhD thesis, University Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3/University of Bologna, 2014), thesis defended in June 2014 at the Université Paul-Valery-Montpellier 3, under the direction of Angela De Benedictis (University of Bologna) and Patrick Gilli (University of Montpellier 3), 1:90.

Once a trial began, it proceeded quickly. For example, in a *liber maleficiorum* in Tolentino covering the period from June to December 1454, containing some fifty crimes, trials took an average of seventeen days, varying between four and eighty-four days.[17] The amount of time between the start and the conclusion of the trial was also a function of statutory norms. The statutes of Bologna, from 1335 to 1454, stipulated that a criminal trial should not last more than two months from the first call for the accused to appear.[18] But it also depended on the speed with which the accused actually appeared before the court after he was called to do so, whether he in fact presented himself immediately or tried to gain time, hoping to reach an understanding with the injured party or prepare his own defense. If he did not come forth, there was a requirement to repeat the call for him to appear three or four times a few days apart, before declaring him guilty in absentia and generally to banning him from the city. In such a case, the trial would take a bit longer. If the accused came forward immediately, the inquest could be very short. In Italian communes, the fact that the *podestat* and the officers of justice were newly appointed every six months also supported rapid judgments because the *podestat*, before ending his term, tried to leave as few cases pending (*causi pendenti*) as possible. After a much shorter written record than in canonization proceedings, the whole inquest would cover one, two, or several paper folios in everyday handwriting in the penal register.

3 Seeking *fama sanctitatis* or *mala/bona fama*

In the procedure of the court, reputation (*fama*) was of capital importance in establishing the true facts of the case.[19] It had two aspects. On the one hand, it focused on the action or actions committed by a person, whether they resulted in a miracle or a crime; on the other hand, it focused on the person himself. As Alberto di Gandino affirms in his *Tractatus de maleficiis*, the personal *fama* counted much more than the *fama* associated with the action.[20] In a canonization trial in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, determining the holiness, the virtues and the life (*fama sanctitatis*) counted much more than miracles.[21] A *bona fama* would protect a person even if he had done something dreadful. In contrast, an accused, labeled in the *libri maleficiorum* as a "man (or woman) not worthy of respect on grounds of his condition, conversation, life or reputation" ([*homo* or *mulier*] *male conditionis, conversationis vite et fame*) was more likely to be tortured and more readily and heavily punished. A bad reputation created the presumption of guilt, as the adage has it: *semel malus, semper malus* – once bad, always bad.[22] The aim of a criminal trial in an Italian commune was to prove the bad reputation of the criminal, leading to his condemnation. The aim of a canonization trial was to prove the extraordinary reputation of the individual to have him canonized.

---

[17] *Archivio storico del comune di Tolentino*, *Liber malefizi*, 155.

[18] *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*, VIII, 27, 641, and Cucini, *Législation statutaire*, 2:118–21: rubrique IV, 21: "Infra quantum tempus criminales cause terminentur: Ordinamus quod omnes cause criminales […] terminentur omnimode infra duos menses."

[19] On the significance of *fama* in medieval society, see Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, eds., *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), Claude Gauvard, ed., "La Renommée," *Médiévales* 24 (1993); and Julien Théry, "Fama: l'opinion publique comme preuve judiciaire. Aperçu sur la révolution médiévale de l'inquisitoire (XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)," in *La Preuve en justice*

When the *podestat* launched an inquiry against someone, he did it based on his reputation (*fama*) and the unanimous reports of anonymous informers, according to the locution transmitting the stereotype

> preceded by public reputation and spread by the reports coming not from those of ill will and suspect, but rather from trustworthy men and to the ears and the knowledge of the above declared podestat and to the court that
>
> (*quod fama publica precedente et clamosa insinuatione referente non quidem a malevolis et suspectis sed potius veridicis et fidedignis hominibus*

---

de l'Antiquité à nos jours, ed. Bruno Lemesle (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 119–47.

[20] See Massimo Vallerani, *La giustizia publica médiévale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 48.

[21] In the canonization process of Nicholas de Tolentino (1325), the lemma *fama* is among the most common: 1289 occurrences in the 371 witness reports. Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 357. On *fama sanctitatis*, see Christian Krötzl, "Fama sanctitatis. Die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 223–43.

[22] On this expression, see Antonella Bettoni, "The Perception of 'Social Danger' among *Ius Commune* Jurists: A Reconstruction of the Concept of *Malus* in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Italian and German Juridical Doctrine," *Liverpool Law Review* 26.3 (2005): 55–57; and the considerations of Joanna Carraway Vitiello, *Public Justice and Criminal Trial in Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age* (Boston: Brill, 2016), 97.

> *et personis non semel tantum sed pluries et pluries et quam pluries ad aures et notitiam supradicti domini potestatis et curie auditu pervenit quod*)[23]

Fama is so closely tied to inquisitorial procedure that many of the questions put to witness are about the reputation of an accused or the would-be saint. When by luck a *liber maleficiorum* has retained the written evidence of witnesses, it reveals that one of the last questions is to confirm that all that has previously been said is publicly known.

> In the same way, questioned on the last article about reputation, in his judgment, he says that everything he has declared is well known and of public repute.
>
> (*Item iterrogatus super ultimo capitulo de fama suo juramento dixit quod de omnibus et singulis super testificantis per eum est publica vox et fama.*)

As for those commissioned by the pope in the case of an inquest *in partibus*, they asked the witness to define what was, in his view, the *fama sanctitatis*, to provide his date of birth and his origin and contacts, sometimes to quantify it, to provide numbers and to situate it in space.[24]

4 Witnesses Do Not Speak Freely, They Answer *articuli interrogatorii*

The procedure of the inquest involves calling witnesses. In the case of canonization there were always witnesses, sometimes they were also involved in minor trials in Italian communes. Those who came forward declared the good or bad *fama* of an accused, and the extraordinary *fama* of the future saint, and recounted what they had seen or heard about the crime or miracle. The weightiest part of the canonization investigation is that devoted to *depositiones testium*, which includes many witnesses: for example, 371 reports from 365 speakers (196 men and 169 women) in the investigation leading to the canonization of Nicholas of Tolentino. In judicial inquiries in Italian cities, witnesses are much less frequent, or in any case they left far fewer written traces. It is worth considering the first words of two mid-fifteenth-century witnesses, one from the canonization trial of Bernadino of Siena (1445), the second from a minor trial in 1458 about a bloody stone-throwing incident (*battaglia*) among children in San Severino, a small commune in the Marche. On one side is the following text:

---

[23] On this locution, see Théry, "*Fama*: l'opinion publique," and on its use in the courts of Italian communes in the fifteenth century, Laura Ikins Stern, "Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century," *The American Journal of Legal History* 44.2 (2000): 198–222; and Roberta Mucciarelli, "Bisogna essere molto prudenti con le voci perchè fanno presto a trasformarsi in verità. Qualche considerazione su *fama* e *publica vox* nell'Italia comunale," in *Fama e publica vox nel Medioevo*, eds. Isa Lori Sanfilippo and Antonio Rigon (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2011), 23–46.

[24] See Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 369–78.

> That same year, Nannes di Bernardutio de Thiono, from the aforementioned town of Aquila, about thirty-six years of age, brother by birth of the aforementioned girl, appeared as another witness, swore to tell the truth, etc. and so, having sworn an oath, he was examined and interrogated about the twenty-third article, and according to his testimony, he said
>
> (*Eisdem anno et die, Nannes Bernardutii de Thiono, dicte civitatis Aquile, etatis* XXXVI *annonurm vel circa, frater carnalis supradicte puelle, alter testis productus, juravit dicere veritatem in forma et cetera, et sic juratus et examinatus et interrogatus super dicto* XXIII *articulo, suo juramento testificando, dixit quod*)[25]

On the other side, the register reads:

> Nicola di Uliverii di Mercatantis of the same city [San Severino], another witness brought forth and produced by the aforementioned Beneamato [father of the accused], was cited and brought forth, and swore to the oath, was informed and carefully examined with respect to the aforementioned articles and their content by the aforementioned lord judge. The articles were read to him in the vulgar tongue with care and in their entirety, in a clear and comprehensible manner. The witness, according to his judgment, said
>
> (*Nicolaus Uliverii Mercatantis de dicta terra* [San Severino] *alter testis, supradictum testium inductus et productus per supradictum Beneamatum* [father of the guilty party] *dicto nomine, citatus relatus, juratus, monitus et diligenter examinatus super dictis articulis et contentis in eis per*

---

[25] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino di Siena*, 41.

> *supradictum dominum judicem ipsis articulis lectis et vulgari sermone diligenter expositis ad ipsius testis plenam et claram intelligentiam. Qui testis suo juramento dixit*)[26]

The weight of juridical formulae learned and endlessly repeated by lawyers created many similarities in the way a witness was represented. At a minimum the register contained the identity of the witness (*nomen*, *praenomen*, *cognomen*), where he lived, the oath that pledged him to tell the whole truth, precisely on what point he was questioned (the article), and the way he responded "according to his judgment." The canonization trial record often mentions the witness's age and the nature of his connection to the person touched by the miracle. A minor penal trial declares that the witness understood, in the vernacular, what was asked of him and by whom he was interrogated. This is a major difference between the two kinds of trial. An investigation seeking canonization included, at least until the start of the fourteenth century, only supporting witnesses; there is no sign of contradictory depositions. From the start of the fourteenth century on, there are a few canonization trials in which opposing witnesses appear, but they remain very rare.[27]

The depositions available in the written record are not to be taken as the real voice of the speakers because of the juridical nature of the source, the considerable constraints on speech, the role of the notary in recording spoken words in writing, the transfer of oral witness to a written document and from the vernacular to Latin, and because of the influence of the *articuli interrogatorii*. In the course of the inquisition, in fact, whether this was orchestrated by the pope or by the *podestat*, the witness does not so much speak as respond. He is not a *homo loquens* but rather a *homo respondens* to *articuli interrogatorii* or *capitula generalia*. This was an arrangement that allowed the questions asked to be oriented toward the life and the qualities of the saint or the potentially guilty party. There are many more of these *articuli* in a canonization trial than in a minor penal one in communal Italy. For Nicholas of Tolentino, there were twenty-two; there were twenty-four for Thomas of Cantilupe (1307), fifty-five for Louis of Toulouse, 105 for Birgitta of Sweden (1373), 170 for Elzéar de Sabran

---

[26] *Archivio Storico Comunale di San Severino Liber mallefitiorum*, Didier Lett, "Construire et légitimer l'autorité paternelle et communale dans un procès à San Severino (Marche) au milieu du XV^e^ siècle," in *La Légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne et École française de Rome, 2015), 1:497–512.

[27] Witnesses with negative opinions of the saintly candidate first appear in the trial of Thomas Cantilupe (1307) and Claire of Montefalco (1318). See Vauchez, "Conclusion," 359.

(1363), 315 for Claire of Montefalco (1318), etc.[28] This interrogatory structure was put in place less to avoid useless blather and to direct the witnesses' depositions toward points considered essential[29] than to maintain strict control over the image being formed of the saint or that the opposing parties in a trial sought to create of the *fama* of the victim or the guilty party and of the facts involved. For canonization trials starting with the pontificate of Gregory XI (13 October 1232) by the letter *Testes legitimos* opening the investigation of canonization trial of Elizabeth of Hungary, letters of remission ordering that the inquiry be accompanied with this *forma interrogatorii* were regularly repeated in all the other trials. After each declaration of a miracle, following a rigorously fixed order, those in charge of the trial were prompted to ask the witnesses:

> how they knew [those touched by the miracles]? When, in what year, month, day [did the events occur]? Who was present? Where? Who called upon [the saint] and in what terms? What were the names of those who benefited from a miracle? Was the person affected by the miracle previously familiar? How many days earlier had they seen those who were ill? How long did the illness last? How long after the miracle did they see the person affected by it cured? What was his or her place of origin?

The guide ends with the admonition that: "they should be questioned about all the circumstances."[30] The *dixit quod* at the start of the *narratio* therefore does not mean that the person interrogated said this. He only responds.[31] When the person interrogated has been charged with a crime, he is forced to admit his guilt, since the purpose of the procedure is to cause the truth to be revealed in a confession, which is also a way of recognizing the omnipotent authority of the power that causes him to admit this truth, the pope or the *podestat*.

---

[28] These figures are taken from Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), 168–69.

[29] This is the opinion of André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 58.

[30] "quomodo sciunt; quo tempore; quo mense; quo die; quibus presentibus; quo loco; ad cujus invocationem; et quibus verbis interpositis, et de nominibus illorum; circa quos miracula facta esse dicuntur; et si eos ante cognoscebant; et quot dies ante viderunt eos infirmos; et quanto tempore fuerunt infirmi; et quanto tempore visi sunt sani, et de qua civitate sunt oriundi; et interrogentur de omnibus circumstantiis diligente," *Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni (Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984), 13. On such locutions, see Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 58–59; Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 162; Roberto Paciocco, *"Sublima negotia." Le canonizzazioni dei santi nella curia papale e il nuovo Ordine dei fratri minori* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1990), 156–58. These questions recur in many trials in the late Middle Ages. Yves Mausen, *Veritatis adiutor. La procédure du témoignage dans le droit savant et la pratique française au bas Moyen Âge* (Paris II: typed law thesis, December 2002), 1:283–86.

[31] See Didier Lett, "La langue du témoin sous la plume du notaire. Témoignages oraux et rédaction de procès de canonization au début du XIV^e^ siècle," in *l'Autorité de l'écrit au*

5 Constructing Truth from Individual Recollections to a Collective Memory

As it is clear from the questions put to the witnesses, the inquisitory process makes strong demands on the memory of those who are interrogated. The investigative experts appointed by the pope or the criminal judge order the witnesses to recall – a moment when historians can measure how people constructed their past experience, how recollections were reconstructed, and how their lived experience was recounted. That procedure gives rise to sources containing many recollections of past events. The inquiry represents a case of "rememoration," as Paul Ricoeur defines it, a phenomenon "stressing the return of a conscious awareness of an event understood as having taken place before the moment when the person recollecting experienced, noticed or learned of it." Rememoration involves a "process of recall."[32] Psychologists distinguish three phases of the cognition of an event: acquisition (the perception of the event), in the course of which information is encoded and stored in memory; retention (the time elapsed between the event and the recollection of a particular fact); and finally, recuperation, in the course of which the stored information is recalled.[33] The time elapsed between the lived experience of the event and what is recalled requires one to consider the effects of the speakers' memory and forgetting, their omissions and additions. This overview of the processes of memory is essential to understanding how these witness accounts were produced.

The historian working on documents arising from an inquisitorial investigation has access primarily to the third stage of cognition (recuperation). It is nonetheless possible to formulate hypotheses concerning the periods of saving and retaining past events. At the time of the acquisition, beliefs (a conviction

---

Moyen Âge (*Orient-Occident*). *XXXIXe Congrès de la SHMESP*, Cairo, 30 April–5 May 2008 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), 89–105.

[32] Paul Ricœur, *La Mémoire, l'histoire et l'oubli* (Paris: Seuil, 2000), 69.

[33] Elisabeth F. Loftus, *Eyewitness Testimony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979 [2nd ed., 1996]), 21. For the interconnection between past experiences and narrated memory in a canonization hearing, see also the chapter by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa in this volume.

that the miracle took place) and emotions (fear generated by the violence one saw) play a decisive part as a kind of screen for the perception of the event. The conviction that Divine intervention occurred creates a strong emotional response in the person directly affected and those around him. Does that make remembering the event easier, or rather does it paralyze memory? The greater the amount of time elapsed between the event and the moment of recollecting it – as we have noted, this is much longer in cases involving canonization – the greater the degree of forgetting. This explains why witnesses respond:

> With respect to the day or the month, he says that he no longer recalls; as to the day, he does not recall clearly; those who were present, he can no longer recall; he does not remember their names
>
> (*de die vel de mense, dixit se non recordari; de die non bene recordatur; de presentibus non recordatur; de nominibus non recordatur*).

In the case of Nicholas of Tolentino, one witness, Angelischa, was aware that the cause of her forgetting was that too much time had passed. She no longer remembers who was present at the moment of the miracle. "She says that she no longer remembers because so much time had gone by" (*propter longitudinem temporis*).[34] Finally, during the recuperation stage, tight limits were placed on the speakers provoking considerable interference between autobiographical (or personal) memory and historical (or social) memory, especially for people from the lower classes or women who were not used to speaking before the pope's delegated commissioners or notaries and judges representing power in the commune. For a psychologist as for a historian, there are no true or false witness declarations. "There are only declarations worthy of doubt since the authority of witnesses, even the most trustworthy, should be questioned in terms of the cognitive and memorial mechanisms underlying memory."[35]

Maurice Halbwachs affirms:

> It is not sufficient to reconstitute the image of a past event bit by bit to arrive at a recollection. The reconstruction is built of facts or common

---

[34] *Il Processo per la canonizzazione*, 576.

[35] Renaud Dulong, *Le témoin oculaire. Les conditions sociales de l'attestation personnelle* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1989), 9. In his conclusion, Benoît Garnot makes the same observation: "Les témoins sont-ils fiables?" in *Les témoins devant la justice. Une histoire des statuts et des comportements*, ed. Benoît Garnot (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 429–35.

> notions found in our minds as well as those of others because they move from one to another and back again, which can only happen if they are part of and continue to be part of the same society. Only in this way can we understand that a memory can be at once recognized and reconstructed.[36]

This sentence, condensing part of the sociologist's rewarding thesis, draws attention to the fact that witnesses can only engage in the act of remembering if they are truly part of a group, a society, an "emotional community."[37] It poses a crucial problem for the historian: is it possible, based on statements in a canonization case or minor cases of criminal justice in Italian communes, to "reconstitute single people" understood as individuals?[38] There is reason to doubt this since, in fact, individual memory (here, that of each of the witnesses) with respect even to events that might seem to be anchored in the greatest intimacy, is a social phenomenon. An individual does not recollect in isolation.

In the depositions recorded in the Venetian criminal archives of the end of the Middle Ages, even when the judges personally invited a witness to respond with an expression like "questioned about what he knows" (*interrogato su cio che sa*), he answered by evoking collective experience: "He replied that he had always heard that …" (*rispose di aver sempre sentito dire …*), a kind of self-censorship, of social control that creates a supplementary filter between the witness and the historian: "taken together, individual witness statements create a framework of collective memory."[39] In an inquisition, the role of the pope's representatives and the criminal judges was not to solicit individual recollections but rather to construct a collective memory on the basis of which the decision might be made to canonize or to punish. They were less concerned about the recollections of the witnesses than about arriving at the truth, which can only flow through *memoria* preserved as a common good by "the society of the process." They sought the truth in the commonalities of reports, urging the witnesses by their very presence and by their questions to *concordare* rather than to *recordare*. On their part, the witnesses sought to shape their responses to what was expected of them and tended more to *agree* on than to *remember* something that happened, prioritizing collective memory over personal recollections.

---

[36] Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective*, 13.

[37] On this notion, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[38] Arnold Esch, "Gli interrogatori di testi come fonte storica. Senso del tempo e vita sociale esplorati dall'interno," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 105 (2003): 249–65. He notes that the witnesses' statements are initially used "*per ricostruire le persone*" (249). On this point of view, see Ralf Peter Fuchs and Winfried Schulze, *Wahrheit, Wissen, Erinnerung. Zeugenverhörprotokolle als Quellen für soziale Wissensbestände der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2002).

[39] Élisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "Testimonianze ed esperienza dello spazio. L'esempio di Venezia alla fine del medioevo," in *La parola all'accusato*, eds. Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1991), 197.

In a medieval society, where an individual did not exist beyond his or her membership in a group, to respond to what was expected of them from the investigation was for them a mode of inclusion in a community, and thereby gave them the feeling that they existed.[40] Once this is understood, the investigation, as a consequence of the constraints it placed upon the actors – those who conveyed the message and those who received it and responded to it – appears as a machine constructed to transform individual memories into collective ones. The witnesses very frequently said much the same thing as a result of the weight of the legal proceedings and the requirement that the notary use stereotyped formulae, but also because of the need that the witnesses agree (*concordare*). When many witnesses tell of the same miracle or report the same brawl, their statements become near duplicates that serve to construct the truth.[41]

These similarities are caused by partial overlaps among witnesses who had come to testify about the same event, be it supernatural or ordinary, which they had experienced together before coming to testify. The leading questions posed by the pontifical representatives and judges and the notarial template imposed especially had an effect. But human repetition is imperfect. Differences or even contradictions from one witness to another are inevitable.[42] Truth is not always assured when testimonies are identical. On the contrary, Thomas Aquinas notes that forgetting some details is natural since human memory is imperfect. A near total coincidence can even be, in Thomas's view, proof that the testimony is false.[43] Doubt is a condition of the proof. In order to render a just sentence, all the participants in the case need to be vigilant that there is proper mix of similarity and difference to construct something verisimilar and create something true. The overlap allowed collective memory to invade the territory of individual recollections. When an account does not occur more than once, from a single person, it is difficult to understand this as a victory, whereas when a supernatural event or a crime is reported by several people, the extent to which collective memory, by creating a common frame of reference, emits remarkable echoes among the accounts. How are we to explain that when several witnesses speak of the same miracle or crime, their depositions are near duplications?

---

[40] See Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat, eds., *L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant la modernité* (Paris: Aubier, 2005), especially Dominique Iogna-Prat's introduction, where she writes: "Medieval systems of identification expect conformity: if an individual stands out, it is to serve the needs of overseeing the sociability network of which s/he is part (family, inhabitants of the community, of the parish, governed district, etc.) [Les systèmes d'identification du Moyen Âge obéissent à une logique de mise en conformité; si l'individu est doté d'une visibilité particulière, c'est pour les nécessités du contrôle au sein de son réseau de sociabilité (famille, communauté d'habitant, paroisse, seigneurie, etc.)]." Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Introduction générale. La question de l'individu à l'épreuve du Moyen Âge," 25.

[41] This resemblance in petty criminal trials in Italian communes is traced in Didier Lett, "Ecrire, lire et représenter la violence dans les registres judiciaires des communes italiennes au début du XV^e siècle," *Figures de l'autorité médiévale. Mélanges offerts à Michel Zimmermann*, eds. Pierre Chastang, Patrick Henriet, and Claire Soussen (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016), 109–14.

6 Conclusion

A canonization trial, recorded in careful handwriting on parchment in an imposing register overseen by the papacy, the sovereign power par excellence, affects a wide territory and is long-lasting. A petty criminal justice case in an Italian commune, written in a *liber maleficiorum* on paper in everyday handwriting on a few folios, is taken care of locally by the *podestat* and takes place in a short time within the commune or its *contado*. Despite such differences, the comparison we have attempted to lay out here is legitimate and useful since each of these documents is the product of an inquisition whose aim is to explore the *fama*, be it *mala* or *sanctitatis*, by interrogating witnesses who are required to respond to specific *articuli interrogatorii* and to produce a collective memory from their individual recollections, in order to bring the truth to light. This long process is what allows the inquisitorial machine to transform a man or woman into a saint or an accused into a culprit.

---

[42] On the sometimes radical contradictions among witnesses, see the case of the accounts of miracles attributed to Vincent Ferrier, Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54.

[43] Marta Madero, "Savoirs féminins et construction de la vérité. Les femmes dans la preuve testimoniale en Castille au 13^{e} siècle," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 3:2 (1999): 5–21, here 18.

CHAPTER 4

The Construction of Information in the Records of Medieval Canonization and Heresy Inquests: a Methodological Comparison

Saku Pihko

1 Introduction

Until the early thirteenth century, both sanctity and heresy were dealt with in a somewhat ad hoc manner at the local level due to a lack of legal guidelines. A significant turning point in the histories of saint making and eradication of heretics came when the papacy assumed a more active, centralized, and legalistic role. The canonization of saints became a papal prerogative in 1234, and papally mandated heresy inquisitors started their work around the same time.[1]

Prompted by developments in the sphere of law, the inquisitorial legal process began to be utilized for the investigation of sanctity and heresy.[2] The adoption of *inquisitio* by secular and ecclesiastical courts took place in the context of an unprecedented intensification of documentary culture. Written documents quickly became a prevalent tool for governing officials, and the

---

[1] Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 119–21; James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 13–15; Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 13–14; R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250*, 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 126.

[2] Bengt Ankarloo, "Postface: Saints and Witches," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 365; Henry Ansgar Kelly, "The Fourth Lateran *Ordo* of Inquisition Adapted to the Prosecution of Heresy," in *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. Donald S. Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 75–85; Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 43; Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 14, 27; Roberto Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 60–62; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

© SAKU PIHKO, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_006

church stood at the forefront of these developments, consolidating the efficiency and reach of its power through the implementation of bureaucratic innovations.[3] Inquisitorial legal processes relied principally on the production and use of written records. Both canonization and heresy tribunals accumulated information that was supplied by witnesses, and they appropriated this spoken information, processing and recording it into its official, written form. This information was subsequently used to reach a legal decision about the sanctity of a putative saint or the guilt of a suspected heretic.[4]

Records of canonization and heresy inquests survive to this day. Historians have eagerly made use of this material as a source for religious and social history due to the access it provides to people otherwise invisible in medieval sources.[5] Despite the high level of similarity between these documentary genres, the bodies of scholarship devoted to their study have developed along mostly separate but parallel trajectories. Taking a preliminary step toward the systematic comparison of canonization and heresy inquest records, this chapter first evaluates the current state of source critical methodology in both historiographical traditions and then, through a comparative reading of selected cases, explores the process through which these sources were constructed, evaluates the epistemological implications of this construction process, and gestures toward methodological principles that can be utilized in the future.

The empirical element for this chapter is provided by canonization and heresy inquest records from the middle of the thirteenth century, which constitute early iterations of what these types of documents would later evolve into. The canonization process used is that of Italian hermit John Buoni (Giovanni Bono, b. 1168, d. 1249). Buoni came from a wealthy family but lived as a traveling performer after the death of his father. His life changed course when he survived a difficult illness in 1209 and decided to dedicate himself to God. From then on, he lived as an ascetic hermit near Cesena, and by 1225 a group of followers known as the Zamboniti had formed around his example. Before his death, Buoni migrated to his native Mantua and died there, which led to disputes regarding the possession of his relics. Miracles began happening around Buoni already during his lifetime and continued after his passing. The proceedings for Buoni's canonization were opened only a couple of years after his death in 1251 by Pope Innocent IV, who, however, had doubts about the legal implementation of the first inquest, leading to a subsequent investigation into the candidate's faith and miracles carried out between 1253 and 1254 in Mantua and Cesena. Despite his saintly reputation in the Romagna region, Buoni was never successfully canonized and thus joined the growing cadre of unofficial saintly figures.[6]

---

[3] Paul Bertrand, *Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (1250–1350)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015); Markus Friedrich, *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge*, trans. John Noël Dillon (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), 17–28; Given, *Inquisition*, 1, 25–26, 91.

[4] Cf. Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 5–6.

[5] Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 15; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 100. See also Michael Goodich, ed., *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

The records of Buoni's canonization proceedings are compared to records of interrogations conducted by heresy inquisitors in Languedoc in the 1240s. This material is (primarily) drawn from the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Doat collection, which contains thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century documentation related to inquisitorial activities in southern France. The Doat records are copies produced in the 1660s by scribes working for a royal commission charged with copying archival holdings from the Languedoc area. Even though these records are later copies, scholars agree that the material has not been deliberately tampered with, thus making available a faithful representation of the now-lost medieval originals.[7]

---

[6] Paolo Golinelli, "Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials: The Choice of Witnesses," in Klaniczay, *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 171–73; Mario Mattei, *Il processo di canonizzazione di fra Giovanni Bono (1251–1253/54) fondatore dell'Ordine degli eremiti* (Rome: Institutum historicum Augustinianum, 2002), 25–89; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 52–53, 54 n. 78, 195, 392, 432–33, 514, 517. Buoni's canonization process is accessible as an 1858 edition in the *Acta Sanctorum* (*Processus Apostolici Auctoritate Innocentii Papae IV Annis 1251, 1253, et 1254 Constructi de Vita, Virtutibus et Miraculis B. Joannis Boni Mantuani*, AASS, Oct. IX, 768–885). Due to limited time and resources, the original manuscripts could not be consulted when writing this chapter, and all references are made to the edition, which has also been used by other scholars. In addition to Mattei, *Processo* and Paolo Golinelli's work on religion in medieval Mantua, Buoni's canonization records have only received sporadic treatment from historians. Works citing evidence from Buoni's canonization records include, e.g. Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas *(1198–1302)* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2019); Donald S. Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005). On eremitical sainthood in general, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 329–36.

[7] On the Doat collection, see e.g. Laurent Albaret, "La collection Doat, une collection moderne, témoignage de l'histoire religieuse méridionale des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 49 (2014): 57–93; Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon, eds., *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273–1282* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3–4, 20–33, 117–21.

2 Historiography of Medieval Inquest Records and the Methodological *Status Quaestionis*

The value of medieval canonization and heresy inquest records as historical sources is generally accepted, even though historians acknowledge the epistemological challenges posed by the material. Source critical issues have been discussed at length by representatives of both fields, but different aspects have been emphasized due to differences pertaining to the contexts from which these records originate. Deponents in heresy trials were suspects who were physically and psychologically coerced to confess their transgressions and ran the risk of being sentenced. In contrast, personal survival was not at stake when giving testimony about miracles to a canonization commission. Perhaps because of the more obviously hostile and distorting nature of inquisition records compared to those of canonization processes, the tradition for serious epistemological engagement is longer and more riddled with heated debates in this field of study. However, similar points of contention have also emerged among canonization scholars, who have begun moving toward increasingly critical and sophisticated approaches.[8] This being said, it is worth noting that these source critical traditions have developed largely in isolation from each other. Some methodological cross-fertilization has taken place – mainly in the direction of canonization scholars borrowing ideas from those who have studied inquisition records – but there is a somewhat surprising lack of systematic methodological comparison. While some have explicitly gestured toward the potential benefit of taking steps in this direction, few historians have heeded these calls.[9]

---

[8] On source critical historiography, see e.g. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, "Texts and the Repression of Heresy: Introduction," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, eds. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (York: York Medieval Press, 2003), 6–18; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 9–15; Saku Pihko, "The Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records: A Methodological Reconsideration," *I quaderni del m.æ.s.*, 22(1s) (2024): 167–70, doi.org/10.6092/issn.2533–2325/19030; L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (York: York Medieval Press, 2011), 2–9.

[9] For tentative combinations and comparative discussion, see e.g. Ankarloo, "Postface"; Elliott, *Proving Woman*; Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis Suis*: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 135–56; Didier Lett, in this volume.

Despite the separation between these two bodies of scholarship, methodological ideas concerning the use of inquest records as sources have developed in a somewhat parallel direction. Historians using canonization and inquisition records emphasize the inherent constructedness of these documents and argue over the extent to which the information therein relates to the historical realities they purport to describe. Emphasis on the ways in which the context and procedures of their production mutate and distort their information content has placed the veracity and trustworthiness of the evidence under question. Scholars seem to agree that a thorough understanding of the process through which canonization and inquisition records were constructed is of paramount importance for an epistemologically warranted use of the material.[10]

While consensus on this basic methodological principle has emerged, interpretations of the epistemological implications of the constructedness of inquest records have been divided along a similar spectrum among historians of both source critical traditions, although this division is perhaps more discernible in the debates that currently define the study of inquisition records. Historians influenced by the ideas of Carlo Ginzburg have adopted an optimistic approach. They argue that the historian's task is to sift through the material in search of revealing discrepancies and excess or surplus elements that can, despite the filtered nature of the sources, be deemed as an authentic survival stemming from the deponents. Thus, they advocate focus on this excess at the expense of the more repetitive and formulaic sections of the records. Other historians inspired by postmodern ideas about discourse and power have taken a more pessimistic view in arguing that the mutations and distortions imposed on the records by their creation cannot be undone, and that this obstructs the historian's access to the talk of the deponents in the interrogation and to the events described in the records. Nevertheless, they do not advocate discarding these sources, and they have developed a variety of reading strategies that allow for sustained engagement with canonization and inquisition records despite their epistemic constraints.[11]

---

[10] Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 100; Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 167; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 2–6.

[11] Recent works opting for adapted versions of what might be called a Ginzburgian approach include (but are not limited to) Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Laura Ackerman Smoller, in this volume. In contrast, e.g. John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); and Lett, *Procès de canonisation*, place emphasis on the discursive power structures that condition the evidence and delimit the historian's epistemic access to the deponents prior to the creation of the records. For discussion concerning similar divisions and debates in the

Most historians (including those mentioned in the previous footnote) probably identify as sitting somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, which admittedly simplifies a more nuanced debate. Nonetheless, the contrast between these opposing positions regarding the perceived possibilities and limitations of inquest records reveals what I think is a general ambiguity haunting the methodological *status quaestionis* of both source critical traditions.[12] While these debates have raised important points about the nature of trial records as historical sources, both extremes seem ultimately unproductive if taken to their logical conclusion. Thus, acknowledging the value of these discussions and working towards a theoretically sophisticated middle ground is needed. Here, merging the fields of canonization and inquisition scholarship and adopting a comparative approach to these sources may prove a fruitful way forward.

3 Comparing Miracles to Murder

In the thirteenth century, general legal principles and more specific legislation related to canonization and heresy inquests provided a template for carrying out both types of investigations. However, there was less regulation concerning the actual practicalities of interrogation and record-keeping. The extant documentation reflects this lack of codification, as the historian finds a lot of variety in the content and level of detail of recorded depositions, which, despite general uniformity, range from short and formulaic summaries to longer narratives rich in anecdotal color.[13] This chapter compares depositions from John Buoni's canonization proceedings and Languedocian inquisition records with an eye for what they reveal about the ways in which the information extant in them was constructed. These examples are used to highlight the dynamics and implications of information flow from the past into the records to elucidate the general epistemic predicament of using them as sources. *Mutatis mutandis*, many of the following observations are applicable to the material at large.

---

historiography of Early Modern trial records, see Raisa Maria Toivo, "Discerning Voices and Values in Finnish Witch Trials Records," *Studia Neophilologica* 84 (2012): 143. See also David Zbíral and Robert L. J. Shaw, "Hearing Voices: Reapproaching Medieval Inquisition Records," *Religions* 13, 1175 (2022), doi.org/10.3390/rel13121175.

[12] Cf. Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus*," 136–37; Antonio Sennis, "Questions about the Cathars," in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), 9–10.

[13] Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 14–15; Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth-to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," 17–20; Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 78–80; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 4–5.

In 1251, a few years after John Buoni's death, two noblemen charged with petitioning the pope to canonize the miracle-working hermit were sent to Rome on behalf of the episcopate and commune of Mantua. Pope Innocent IV was sympathetic to their request and appointed the bishop of Modena to head the canonization tribunal. The first *inquisitio in partibus* concerning Buoni's life and miracles was conducted in Mantua shortly thereafter, and a further supplementary inquest was conducted in Mantua and Cesena in 1253–54. According to Paolo Golinelli's count, the records of Buoni's canonization proceedings entail a total of 232 depositions given by both religious and lay witnesses, which recount several miracles both during Buoni's lifetime and after his death. The investigation also emphasized the hermit's reputation and orthodoxy.[14] While there seems to have been some concern over legal issues pertaining to the first investigation that led to additional hearings, Buoni's canonization process stands out among many other early canonization inquests by virtue of its form and thoroughness. For example, while no separate list of *articuli* is extant, the officials clearly utilized standardized control questions drawn from the recently issued *Testes legitimos* formulary, which are noted in the opening section of the documentation and are also referenced in many of the depositions.[15]

In this chapter, I have chosen to explore a series of interrelated depositions concerning a miraculous transformation of water into wine that settled doubts harbored by some of Buoni's fellow friars about the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[16] This kind of miracle with a clear biblical precedent was of obvious legal and religious interest to the tribunal. Transforming water into wine made Buoni seem Christ-like, and stories about the miracle were probably a significant element in the construction of his *fama sanctitatis* that acted as a catalyst for the canonization proceedings. Thus, information about the miracle was recorded in detail. However, the extant documentation about miracles was always the result of conscious selection that favored the agenda of the investigation.[17] In this regard, Donald S. Prudlo has noted that references to the Eucharist in Buoni's canonization process reflect an emerging papal emphasis on religious orthodoxy, which, in turn, is explained by the contemporary challenge posed to the church by heresy.[18] Several depositions refer to the same miracle, although it remains unclear whether the officials posed specific questions about this miracle to the deponents, or if some of them simply reported information about it when questioned about Buoni's miracles in general.[19]

---

[14] Golinelli, "Social Aspects," 166, 171–73.

[15] AASS Oct IX, 772. On the 1232 *Testes legitimos* formulary, known also as *Interrogatorium/Forma examinandi testes*, see, e.g. Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," 18–19. On the variety of questions asked in different canonization processes, see Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 90–93.

[16] On the Eucharist in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, eds., *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2012). For discussion on doubts concerning the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation, see e.g. John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 140, 217, 222–25. See also Didier Lett, "Des miracles incroyables. Doutes ou intérêt social et politique dans les procès de canonisation des XIII^e–XIV^e siècles," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 177–93.

Turning to the evidence, the first and most detailed reference can be found in the 1251 deposition of friar Jacobus,[20] who was one of Buoni's hermits. This long record describes the candidate's holy lifestyle and recounts several miracles ranging from cures for the ailing to exorcisms of demons. Heavily paraphrased, one section of the record reads that once a novice of their order by the name of Nasinbenus had some doubts concerning the Eucharist and did not believe that Christ was truly present in the bread and wine consumed at the altar. Nasinbenus had asked the deponent to arrange an opportunity for him to speak with Buoni, and the deponent claimed to have informed Buoni about this. When Buoni and the novice met, Nasinbenus spoke of many things but said nothing about his doubts. Then, the record quotes[21] their conversation, during which Buoni told the novice not to conceal the truth and revealed that he was aware of his doubts about the Eucharist, which Nasinbenus admitted. Buoni told the friars to come back once he called them. After a while, the deponent, Nasinbenus, and two other friars returned to Buoni and gathered by a nearby font. There, Buoni took a goblet, prostrated himself in prayer, filled the goblet with water, and placed it on the edge of the font. He prayed some more and made the sign of the cross over the goblet. After this, he handed the goblet to Nasinbenus and told him to accept the gift of God to whom everything was possible, emphasizing that what had happened was of no merit to himself but only to God, who was omnipotent. The friars who were present all drank from the goblet and tasted good, fragrant, and flavorful wine of a gold-like color. The record goes on to quote Buoni telling the doubting novice to see and to believe, because just as the Lord had turned the water in the goblet into wine, he could similarly turn bread and wine into his body and blood whenever it pleased him. Moreover, the record states that the novice was thus reassured and reinforced in his faith and no longer held doubts.[22]

---

[17] Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*, 14–15; Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 87–89; Gábor Klaniczay, "Speaking About Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365; Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73.2 (1998), 432. On miracles in medieval theology, see e.g. Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (London: Routledge, 2007), 8–28.

[18] Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood*, 139–40. See also Mattei, *Processo*, 50–51.

[19] Cf. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 4–5.

[20] When citing the names of individuals mentioned in the records, I use the Latinized versions of their names instead of attempting to guess the vernacular version. An exception to this is individuals for whom there exists a standard Anglicized name used widely in scholarship (e.g. John Buoni and Raymond VII). For arguments against translating names from medieval legal records, see Didier Lett, "Les noms des hommes, des filles et des épouses dans les Marches d'après le procès de canonisation de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 119/2 (2007): 401–13.

[21] On the function of direct quotations in canonization records, see e.g. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 249–51; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Narrative Strategies in the Depositions: Gender, Family, and Devotion," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 247.

More information can be found in the subsequent *item*. According to Jacobus's testimony, similar events transpired on the morrow, when friar Nicolaus heard what had happened and began to wonder and doubt, saying he would not believe unless he saw it for himself. When this was relayed to Buoni, he sent for Nicolaus, who went to meet him with another friar. Once again, Buoni took a goblet and went to the font. There, as the record states in a condensed and summary manner, he did similarly as before. When Nicolaus drank from the goblet, he is quoted as saying that what he had been told was really true. He, too, was thus reassured and reaffirmed in his faith and no longer doubted. After this, the record states that the deponent was asked control questions regarding how he had come to know what he reported (he claimed to have been present and tasted the wine), who had been present (he supplied the names of six friars, including himself), when this had happened (he said it had been six years ago on the first and second day of April), and whether there was *publica fama* about the events (which he denied, claiming to have himself prohibited it to be divulged outside of their convent but adding that it was public knowledge among the friars).[23]

---

[22] AASS Oct IX, 777–78: "Dicit praeterea idem testis quod cum quodam tempore quidam frater, nomine Nasinbenus, novitius in ordine supradicto, dubitaret de Corpore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, non credens quod esset vere Corpus Christi ille panis, et illud vinum quod conficiebatur in altari, dixit ipsi testi quadam vice quod faceret ipsum loqui cum fratre Joanne Bono. […] Tunc fr. Joannes Bonus accepit quemdam scyffum novum; et ivit ad eos, et prosternens se in oratione juxta fontem, accepit de aqua fontis cum ipso scyffo quem portavit, et posuit scyffum cum aqua super oram fontis; et iterum oravit, et fecit signum crucis super ipsam aquam, quae erat in scyffo. Et accipiens scyffum, porrexit illud fr. Nasinbeno; et dixit ei: Frater, accipe donum Dei, quia omnia possibilia sunt apud Deum; et non credatis quod ego fecerim istud, sed Deus fecit, quia potest omnia facere. Et tunc ille frater bibit, et omnes fratres, qui illic aderant biberunt, et gustaverunt bonum vinum, et odoriferum, et saporosum; et habebat quasi aureum colorem. Et dixit ipse fr. Nascinbeno in praesentia aliorum fratrum, qui illic aderant: Vide, frater, et crede, quia sicut de ista aqua Dominus fecit vinum, ita de pane et vino, potest efficere Corpus et Sanguinem suum, quandocumque placet ei. Et sic dictus frater fuit confirmatus et roboratus in fide, et dixit quod de caetero nullatenus dubitaret."

Depositions in medieval inquest records are informational abstractions that were produced as the result of the oral interaction between the deponent who gave testimony and the officials in charge of the interrogation who prompted this testimony through questioning. The relative degree of abstraction imposed upon the record by its creation varies from deposition to deposition, and even between elements within individual depositions.[24] Looking at the record of Jacobus's deposition, a lot of seemingly unique details related to the miracle can be discerned. Nevertheless, even a colorful deposition such as this was conditioned by the variables that influenced the flow of information from the past into the record. It cannot be taken as an unproblematic representation of the deponent's talk in the interrogation or the events it purports to describe, as the information remembered and reported by the deponent in response to questioning was appropriated by the notary and transformed into standardized and summarized legal evidence extant as Latin writing embedded in the material medium of the record. Moreover, already prior to giving his statement to the tribunal, the deponent's interpretations of the events and discussions about them in his fraternal community, the reconstructive nature of his memory,[25] and internalized patterns and *topoi* of miracle stories influenced the way in which he remembered, understood, and subsequently reported information about the miracle to the commissars. Thus, the record can be thought of as a selective amalgamation of information from many different sources, which is not easy to pick apart retrospectively.[26]

---

[23] AASS Oct IX, 778: "Item dicit idem testis, quod in sequenti die quidam alius frater qui vocabatur Nicolaus, de eodem ordine, audito quod fr. Joannes Bonus per invocationem Domini Jesu Christi prima praeterita die converterat aquam in vinum, coepit mirari et aliquantulum dubitare, dicens, quod non crederet hoc, nisi ipse videret illud idem. […] Et tunc fr. Joannes Bonus accepit quemdam scyffum ligneum novum, et accessit ad fontem cum ipso fr. Nicolao, et cum ipso teste, et quodam alio fratre qui vocabatur Ubertus; et fecit similiter sicut prius. Et cum bibisset dictus frater de optimo vino, quod factum fuerat de aqua, dixit: Revera sunt vera, quae mihi de isto negotio dicebantur. Et ita fuit confirmatus et corroboratus, quod de caetero nullatenus dubitavit." For further eyewitness testimony on the same case, see ibid., 817. See also ibid., 773 for testimony on a similar miracle that, based on the dating provided by the deponent, seems to have transpired on a different occasion.

[24] Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 170–83.

[25] On the inherently reconstructive and malleable nature of human memory, see e.g. Jonathan K. Foster, *Memory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Endel Tulving and Fergus I. M. Craik, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). On memory in the context of canonization and heresy trials, see e.g. Irene Bueno, "*Dixit Quod Non Recordatur*: Memory As Proof in Inquisitorial

This fluctuation of abstraction becomes especially evident when we look at other depositions that entail accounts of the same miracle. For example, a short reference near the end of friar Moroëllus's 1253 deposition, which summarizes the deponent's knowledge regarding Buoni's *fama* and miracles in response to questioning, simply states that he had not personally witnessed miracles but had heard that God in response to Buoni's prayers had made wine from water, and that he had also heard of many other miracles.[27] The contrast between this hearsay deposition and the eyewitness deposition analysed above shows how the position of a given deponent in relation to the investigated events and the needs and objectives of a given phase of the investigation dictate the nature of the information available to the historian.

The extent and complexity of the flow of information from the past into the extant records is further highlighted by one section of the 1251 deposition of friar Michaël, a Veronese priest who had joined Buoni's eremitical order. The record describes how Nasinbenus, who had doubts about the Eucharist met with Buoni and how Buoni asked him whether he would believe if the Lord showed him a certain sign, to which the novice conceded. Then, Buoni took him and certain other friars to the font and performed similar actions as were depicted in Jacobus's deposition, after which the friars drank from the goblet. However, this deposition adds details that were not recounted by Jacobus – namely, by quoting the words of Buoni's prayer by the font. This deponent, however, had not been present. When asked how he knew about this, he claimed to have heard about it both from Buoni and from other friars who

---

Trials (Early 14th Century France)," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lucie Doležalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 365–93; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life*, 247–87; Lett, *Procès de canonisation*, 219–35, 270; Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 179–81; Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning."

[26] Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus*," 143; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 17–18, 178–79; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life*, 20–21; Katajala-Peltomaa, "Narrative Strategies," 227–32, 250–51; Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 93–99; Klaniczay, "Speaking About Miracles," 368, 393; Lett, *Procès de canonisation*, 217–18, 257–65, 270, 408; Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 178–79, 181–82; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices," 4, 8–10.

[27] AASS Oct IX, 815. For similar short hearsay references, see ibid. 793, 821, 822, 823.

had witnessed the miracle, and he also claimed that there was *publica vox et fama* about this among their order.[28] Thus, the record makes explicit that what the historian is privy to is a summary of information that the deponent had acquired from many different sources over time, and which was later appropriated by the officials in charge of the canonization proceedings.

These methodological observations concerning miracle narratives in canonization processes resonate with the study of inquisitorial documentation. Languedocian inquisition records from the thirteenth century mainly deal with people who had been in contact with the so-called good men. They were a group of ascetic ritual-working preachers whose teachings, exemplary lifestyle, and promises of salvation attracted considerable lay devotion. The church, in turn, saw them as dangerous heretics and deployed inquisitors to eradicate them from the area. Historians have traditionally known them as Cathars, but this terminology is now heavily contested in scholarship.[29] Just like canonization records, inquisition records were documentary tools serving the investigative agenda of the tribunals. The information that they contain is thoroughly conditioned by the inquisitors' legal prejudice and goal of finding and condemning the guilty. Thus, the records emphasize suspicious activities at the expense of unorthodox beliefs. They primarily document evidence about, for example, participation in heretical rituals, hearing heretical preaching, and providing material support to alleged heretics. Inquisitors also had a keen interest in facts, such as the names of people involved in heretical activities, as this afforded possibilities to widen the potential scope of investigations.[30]

---

[28] AASS Oct IX, 783: "cum quidam fr. Nascimbenus [...] dubitaret de Corpore et Sanguine D. N. Jesu Christi et quadam vice staret cum ipso fratre Joanne Bono ad cellam ipsius, idem fr. Joannes Bonus dixit ei: Ego scio, frater, quod tu dubitas de Corpore et Sanguine Jesu Christi. Et ipse dixit ei: Verum est, domine. Et tunc dixit ei fr. Joannes Bonus: si Dominus ostenderit tibi aliqua certa signa, crederes tu bene de caetero? Et ipse dixit quia crederet, et libenter videret. Et tunc fr. Joannes Bonus duxit eundem fr. Nascinbenum, fr. Jacobum, et quosdam alios secum ad quondam fontem, qui erat ibi prope, portans secum quondam sciffum de ligno novum, et implevit ipsum de aqua ipsius fontis, et dicta oratione, cujus verba sunt haec, scilicet aequipollentia: Domine Jesu Christe, ad hoc ut iste frater crederat verum Corpus et verum Sanguinem Christi, quod conficitur in altari, ostende misericordiam tuam, ut ista aqua convertatur in vinum. Et his dictis statim scifum plenum de optimo vino porrexit dicto fratri Nascimbeno, dicens ei: Bibe, frater, de vino Domini. [...] et tunc dictus frater respondit dicto fr. Joanni Bono: De caetero de Corpore et Sanguine D. N. Jesu Christi nullatenus dubitabo. Interrogatus quomodo scit, dicit quod audivit pluries ab ore dicti fr. Joannis Boni, et a fr. Jacomello, et a fr. Bulgarello, et a pluribus aliis, qui ibi praesentes extiterant quando praedicta facta sunt. [...] Interrogatus si tunc temporis de hoc erat publica fama per contratam illam, dicit se ignorare, sed tamen per ordinem ipsorum erat publica vox et fama de hoc."

[29] On the alleged heresy of the Languedocian good men, see e.g. Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2013). On the current debate concerning the nature and existence of so-called Catharism, see e.g. Antonio Sennis, ed., *Cathars in Question* (York: York Medieval Press, 2016). On medieval heresy in general, see e.g. Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

The majority of Languedocian inquisition records from the middle of the thirteenth century adhere to this general scheme. In certain cases, however, their repetitive form breaks, making unique details visible and allowing for comparison with the depositions drawn from canonization records analysed above. One example of this are depositions that deal with murder. Violent opposition against heresy inquisitors in medieval Languedoc culminated in May 1242, when mendicant inquisitors William Arnold and Stephen of Saint-Thibéry came to Avignonet after carrying out investigations in the Toulouse area. They settled in the castle of the comtal *bayle*, but this proved to be a fatal miscalculation as the *bayle*, possibly at the behest of the Count of Toulouse Raymond VII, informed heretical sympathizers about their presence. In response, a host of armed men was assembled and sent to Avignonet, where they slaughtered the inquisitors and their entourage and looted their belongings. Evidence suggests that this was done with the intention of ending heresy inquisitions in the area, but this proved to be a naïve hope, as inquisitorial activities reassumed shortly thereafter.[31]

Investigating the slaying of their martyred brethren was of obvious interest to the inquisitors who followed them. Murder, however, was not a standard theme of inquisitorial scrutiny, and the level of detail in the depositions related to this case is thus well above average. Moreover, while canonization records routinely entail several depositions regarding the same event, this is surprisingly rare in inquisition records, making the Avignonet case a noteworthy exception. Another key difference between canonization and heresy trials pertains to who was called upon to give testimony. The selection of witnesses was an important variable in the construction of canonization records, and testimony from those higher up in the ecclesiastical and social echelons was often favoured.[32] Inquisitorial tribunals, however, operated according to the investigative logic of a criminal investigation and were thus quite open to hearing anyone who was suspected of transgressions or was otherwise thought to be privy to relevant information.

---

[30] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 201–2; Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 98–107; Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 170; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 128–35.

[31] Barber, *Cathars*, 176–86; Yves Dossat, "Le massacre d'Avignonet," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 6 (1971): 343–59; Walter L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 169–71. For discussion on popular opposition against inquisitors in Languedoc, see e.g. Given, *Inquisition*, 111–40.

[32] Golinelli, "Social Aspects"; Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 81–87, 99.

From the series of interrelated depositions that deal with the grim episode at Avignonet, I have chosen to focus on the deposition of Imbertus de Salis given to inquisitor Friar Ferrier in 1244, as it is an eyewitness account spanning the entire sequence of events. The record of his deposition begins with the standard oath, which obliged the deponent to tell the truth about himself and others, the living and the dead, regarding the crime of heresy and Waldensianism. However, instead of listing standard interactions with alleged heretics, the record begins *in medias res* by describing how a certain man brought letters from the Avignonet *bayle* to the commander of the Montségur fortress in the Pyrenees, where the deponent was residing. He claimed to not know what the letters contained but told the inquisitor that men were assembled and the commander called upon them to follow him in doing something of great profit. Agreeing, they headed out of the fortress toward Avignonet and were joined by others along the way. Just like canonization commissars, heresy inquisitors, too, were interested in gathering the names of all those involved in the events they investigated, and Imbertus – most likely in response to explicit questioning – readily supplied the tribunal with the names of all the men in the group that he could remember. Once closer to their target, a section of the force peeled off and advanced while others, including their commander, stayed behind. The deponent went with the vanguard, and when they approached Avignonet, a man came out of the village to make contact, had some words with them, and then returned to find out what the inquisitors were up to. He went back and forth a couple of times, first informing the group that the inquisitors were drinking and later reporting that they had gone to bed. Seeing it was time to strike, the assailants approached the village gate opened by locals. Entering Avignonet, they met with the traitorous *bayle* and more armed men.[33]

After this build up, the record states in a somewhat laconic inquisitorial fashion that they went to the castle, broke down the door of the inquisitors' quarters, and killed everyone inside. The deponent, however, claimed that he remained outside and only entered later when told to do so. Inside, he found the dead bodies of the inquisitors and their entourage. Then, the record entails another long list of the names of people who were pillaging the wares of the tribunal and a short reference to the deponent admitting that he, too, had taken some petty items from the crime scene. The record also meticulously documents who had taken what and summarizes the deponent's recollection

---

[33] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Collection Doat 24, fols. 160r–163v.

of certain individuals bragging about their role in the massacre, even quoting some boastful remarks. The assailants retreated and regrouped with their commander, who is quoted as voicing his irritation for not having received the head of the slain inquisitor, from which he would have liked to drink wine. The deponent also heard that a cavalry segment had been on standby to kill the inquisitors on the road later in case the assault had failed and that the man who brought the letters to Montségur had been rewarded a stolen horse for his troubles.[34] After this long and unusually detailed section, the rest of Imbertus's deposition documents events and activities at the hilltop fortress of Montségur, which was one of the last strongholds for the good men and their lay supporters in Languedoc.[35]

Refraining from being overwhelmed by the drama of Imbertus's deposition, observations similar to those drawn from Buoni's canonization records regarding epistemic constraints and affordances can be made. The information extant in the record was supplied to the tribunal by the deponent, who admitted certain aspects of his role when questioned, but what the historian is privy to constitutes a selective abstraction of this orally reported information appropriated by the authorities and transformed into written evidence. The extent of this abstraction fluctuates, shifting constantly between singular details, such as purported quotations from the culprits, and more summary segments, like the extensive lists of names that were used to incriminate those involved. Thus, while the content of this deposition is unusual, the general form and rhythm of the record are close to standard issue.

It is also noteworthy that the sequence of events leading up to the bloody climax and its aftermath was clearly of interest to the authorities and was documented in detail, but – just as was the case with miracle descriptions – the narrative is almost completely extracted from its wider context due to the selection imposed on the record by the deponent and by representatives of the tribunal. The historian can never know that which the deponent chose not to divulge, nor that which the notary deemed unnecessary to write down. Moreover, the record obscures the dynamics of dialogue and exchange in the interrogation. The inquisitor's questions remain hidden under the smooth surface, although certain sections suggest something about the ways in which the deponent negotiated the information and strove to diminish his own guilt, for example, by claiming to have remained outside during the actual killings.

---

[34] BnF, Collection Doat 24, fols. 163v–167v. For an English translation, see John H. Arnold and Peter Biller, eds., *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200–1300* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 359–74.

[35] BnF, Collection Doat 24, fols. 167v–181v.

This serves as a reminder that the historian must understand (both types of) inquest records as the result of the combined information production efforts of the deponent, the inquisitor, and the notary.[36]

As was the case with the miracle depositions, the varying level of abstraction and the tendency to standardize evidence within and across depositions become even more evident when taking a brief look at other records that refer to the Avignonet massacre. On one hand, some of these depositions are on par with the level of detail extant in Imbertus's deposition and share many elements with it, such as the arrival of the letters to Montségur, the horse that was promised to the messenger, and the commander of the assailants wanting to drink from the inquisitor's severed head. On the other hand, some depositions only make brief references to the murders, demonstrating how investigative priorities again define the topics of discussion in the interrogation and the information that was recorded for posterity.[37]

The evidence also suggests that similarly to miracles, significant occurrences like the murder of inquisitors aroused talk in the local communities. For example, while his deposition does not make this explicit, it can be assumed that a deponent like Imbertus, who had participated in the events, reminisced about them privately and socially, which influenced his own memories and contributed to the construction of a collective understanding of what had happened. This kind of narrative standardization taking place already prior to the interrogations and the creation of the records is also suggested by the shared, story-like elements across many of the depositions.[38] This is not to claim that none of what the deponents recounted had taken place. Rather, it simply reminds us of the fact that the notary working for the tribunal was not the only player involved in standardizing the information extant in the records. That information about these events circulated in Languedoc and was subsequently funneled into the records via this talk is explicitly revealed by a further deposition given to the same inquisitor by the wife of the man who brought the letters to Montségur. The deposition contains many details about the plot that ultimately brought about the murders – all of which she claimed to have heard from her husband.[39]

---

[36] Cf. Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," 9; Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records," 172–74, 181; Zbíral and Shaw, "Hearing Voices," 4–8.

[37] For more references to the Avignonet murders, see, BnF, Collection Doat 22, fols. 11r–v, 129v–131v, 256r–258r, 284v–287r; Collection Doat 24, fols. 67r–68r; Collection Doat 25, fols. 148v–149r, 250v, 298v, 309r; Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 609, fols. 37r–v, 54v, 55r, 76v, 86r, 90v, 91r, 140r–v.

[38] Cf. Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, 40. See also Katajala-Peltomaa's chapter in this volume.

4 Conclusions

Methodologically, historians working with the records of canonization and heresy inquests face similar challenges, and representatives of both source critical traditions have much to learn from each other. Shared methodological innovations combined with novel thematic perspectives guarantee that these documentary genres maintain their relevance for historians of medieval religion and beyond despite their extensive use. The time has come to blur the somewhat artificial boundary between the historiographical traditions dealing with medieval canonizations and heresy inquisitions and to move forward at scale. Methodological cross-fertilization paves the way toward systematic comparisons that incorporate evidence from both types of records. Much low-hanging fruit and more ambitious research programs await the historian who is willing to take the first step. One promising direction that can benefit from a comparative approach is the study of medieval lived religion. Depositions in canonization and inquisition records provide evidence, for example, on beliefs, rituals, and religious communication of the laity. The fact that this material comes from the opposite ends of the spiritual spectrum and illuminates similar phenomena from different perspectives only increases the potential of one type of inquest record complementing the other.

Any comparative analysis that one might embark upon requires a unified reading strategy. Responding to the division that currently defines methodological discussions regarding the possibilities and limits of knowledge about the past through medieval inquest records, this chapter took preliminary steps to conceptualize the fundamental methodological problem in terms of information flow with an emphasis on the epistemological implications of the stages, actors, variables, and dynamics that influenced the creation of the extant evidence. From this perspective, inquest records appear as materially embedded abstractions of information shaped and conditioned by a multi-stage sequence during which several historical actors acquired, processed, and transmitted information. This flow of information from the past into the records began in the lifeworld of the deponents when people perceived and interpreted events and occurrences related to sanctity and heresy and formed memories about them. As was evident with both cases analysed, a degree of subsequent reinterpretation in the form of private reminiscence and collective discussion further influenced the form and content of these memories. Then, often years later, people were confronted by canonization commissars or heresy inquisitors whose questions prompted them to reinterpret what they remembered about certain aspects of their past from the perspective of the highly particular and often emotionally loaded situation of the interrogation. After the interrogation, the authorities appropriated the information reported by the deponents and transformed selected elements from this vernacular talk into the written Latin evidence that served the investigative agenda of the tribunal. At each step of this process, information was selectively discarded and replicated, and it moved from one material modality to another – that is, from memory to talk and from talk to writing. The historian who reads the records of canonization and/or heresy inquests interfaces with the end product of this elongated sequence of information flow. The transformations imposed upon the information by the variables influencing its construction result in a necessary, albeit varying degree of abstraction that defines the evidence and thus conditions the historian's epistemic predicament.

---

[39] BnF, Collection Doat 22, fols. 293v–295v.

This being said, it is of paramount importance to understand that while the process through which information in medieval inquest records was constructed constrains their epistemic potential, it simultaneously affords the possibility of engaging with the past. Standardized Latin entries in the records do not equal the talk of the deponents, nor can they be seen as unproblematic descriptions of events prior to the interrogations, but when it comes to the information they convey, it seems clear that these records are not something entirely separate from the world from which they stem. However much the variables that influenced the flow of information from the past into the records transformed it along the way, the information extant in them was constrained and afforded by information available to the different historical actors involved in the creation of the records. Thus, a degree of informational overlap between the record and the past remains even in cases where notarial appropriation was taken to an extreme. This makes the idea of searching for a distinct and authentic excess or surplus from the records untenable as a methodological guideline, as this would unavoidably lead to arbitrary value judgments that diminish the pool of potential evidence. The extant records constitute a weave of abstracted information from several sources that is impossible to disentangle or separate clearly from information that preceded it. Rather, the historian's task is to understand the evidence in relation to its complex process of creation and to calibrate knowledge claims accordingly. Here, working out the extent of accountable informational overlap between the extant record, talk in the interrogation, and the historical phenomena that precede them becomes the central methodological question for historians using canonization and inquisition records, as information in these sources is our only point of empirical access to the past.[40]

Acknowledgements

The author thanks the editor of this volume, the anonymous reviewers, and all those who commented on an earlier draft of this chapter for their encouraging feedback and warranted criticisms. Open access to this chapter has been funded by the Research Council of Finland's Centre of Excellence in the History of Experiences (352729).

---

[40] See Pihko, "Construction of Information in Medieval Inquisition Records" for a more detailed discussion of these methodological ideas in the context of inquisition records.

CHAPTER 5

Testimonies of the Life of the Saint in the Context of Canonization

Jenni Kuuliala

1 Introduction

The reputation of a late medieval (and early modern) saint was created through the interactions that took place between the holy person and their community; the latter included both official hagiographers and community members who encountered the future saint and interpreted their actions.[1] These actions can be grouped roughly into two categories – life and miracles – which hagiographic material often treated as two distinct aspects of holiness but which in reality commonly overlapped. The virtues that created a holy life, or a life worthy of canonization, were established in legends, liturgies, sermons, plays, and canonization bulls, and were undoubtedly also a topic of discussion in everyday encounters. Holy life was constructed primarily around piety, devotion, abstinence, charity, chastity, patience, and humility. Divine wisdom and the gift of prophecy were commonly attributed to holy men and women, and in many instances such holiness had already manifested itself in childhood.[2]

When the papal canonization hearings commenced in the early thirteenth century, juridical material concerning the virtuous life of a putative saint started to emerge, just as it did for their miracles. Canonization interrogations re-enforced cultural ideas about what constituted a saintly life, as the questions proposed to witnesses specifically addressed saintly virtues. In most cases, the *articuli*, on which the inquest was supposed to be based, were collected beforehand by the procurator of the hearing; in them, the virtues intermingled with details of the saint's life. There is, however, great variation in the length, detail, and level of organization in these articles across various processes, and in some cases they were crafted only after the interrogations had taken place or

---

[1] See Aviad Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 4–6, 17–19.

[2] See André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, transl. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 505–26, for these virtues in the context of canonization.

© JENNI KUULIALA, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_007

are lacking altogether.[3] In any event, the articles demonstrate the saintly profile for which the cult promoters hoped to gain recognition.[4] Those conducting canonization inquests were preoccupied with ascetic and moral virtues, and chastity was emphasized in all hearings. These elements of a holy life therefore garnered the most attention in witness accounts.

Saints' legends have been a common theme in medieval research for decades,[5] and studies of miracle testimonies continue to increase in popularity. Medieval canonization testimonies to a putative saint's life, however, are still a very understudied topic, even though they include tremendous potential for enlarging our understanding of sainthood in the past, and particularly of the ways saints' devotees constructed and interpreted their holy lives.[6] Concerning miracle testimonies, Laura Ackerman Smoller and Michael Goodich have pointed out that although the language of the documents belongs to the notaries who recorded the depositions for other civil servants, the messages in them belong to the witnesses.[7] There is no need to assume that this was not also true of testimonies concerning saints' lives, although in them the preferences of and practicalities for those conducting the inquests may have been even more pronounced. Nevertheless, when analysed carefully, testimonies of life show how witnesses formulated their memories about "their" saint to fit the expected pattern of a holy life. They also offer details and views that demonstrate how each saint appeared unique to their community and how the witnesses attributed their own meanings and messages to holy virtues.

---

[3] Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht: das Kanonisationserfahren im europäischen Spätmittelaltern* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 505–6; Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 292–93; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 23–24. The articles record certain concepts, but at the same time the details of saints' lives are often left quite vague. See, e.g., Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 302, on this aspect regarding St. Thomas Cantilupe's humility.

[4] See, e.g., Enrico Menestò, "The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of Clare of Montefalco, 1318–1319," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, eds. Daniel Ethan Bronstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 109.

[5] It is impossible to list all of the relevant work here. Saints' *vitae* have been particularly popular among historians of medieval gender; see, e.g., Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Peter Dinzelbacher, *Heilige oder Hexen? Schicksale auffälliger Frauen* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2004); Dyan Elliott, *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women 200–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Katherine J. Lewis, "Gender and Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in *Gendering the Middle Ages*, eds. Pauline Stafford and Anneke Mulder-Bakker (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 205–14; Alastair J. Minnis and Voaden Rosalynn, eds., *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c.1100–c.1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); and C. Goldy and A. Livingstone, eds., *Writing Medieval Women's Lives* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

[6] For studies analysing testimonies to *vitae*, see, e.g., Nicole Archambeau, "Remembering Countess Delphine's Books: Reading as a Means to Shape a Holy Woman's Sanctity," in Goldy and Livingstone, *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, 33–49; Elliott, *Proving Woman*; Kleinberg, *Prophets*; Smoller, "Northern and Southern Sanctity"; Vauchez, *Sainthood*. I have discussed these issues more thoroughly in Jenni Kuuliala, *Saints, Infirmity, and Community in the Late Middle Ages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020). For the historiography of miracles, see Katajala-Peltomaa and Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles," 9–15.

It is worth noting that in analysing canonization testimonies for communal views and memories of saints' lives, the views that emerge are notably elite. Testimonies about the saint's life were usually given by (male) elite members of society and/or members of monastic orders. Lay women are an exception among the witnesses, as are men of lower social status. The commissioners most valued the word of those who had known the saint personally or lived with them.[8] At the same time, witnesses to the lives of cloistered nuns were most often other sisters in the order, as they – quite obviously – had the most information about these women's lives. Lay women were only summoned to testify about a saint's *vita* if they were of good reputation, but even then they were typically allowed to testify only if they knew the saintly candidate personally.[9] All this leaves open the question of how much information about the holy person's life was known among the general public.

---

[7] Laura A. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–54," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54. See also Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 135–56, here 143–44.

[8] See, e.g., Paolo Golinelli, "Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials: The Choice of Witnesses," in Klaniczay, *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, 170–71; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 32–42; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Processes in the Making," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 78–101; Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008).

[9] As an example, in the fifteenth-century processes of Saint Frances of Rome, almost all the men testifying about her life were clerics. Anna Esposito, "St. Francesca and the Female Religious Communities of Fifteenth-Century Rome," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, 197–218, here 198.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish how people used cultural narratives to relate their memories of the person they venerated, and, further, how testimonies of life were born in the intercourse and collaboration between witness, conductors of the hearing, and established cultural models and norms. Through this discussion, I hope to demonstrate that these testimonies to life not only provide a window into the ways in which details of a saintly *fama* were born, but also what kinds of details and particularities can be uncovered through a careful analysis of the sources. A key concept that underlies this analysis is the saint's corporal suffering, an issue that gained increasing importance in the late medieval era as the view that a human body and mind could imitate the passion of Christ grew in popularity and greatly affected lay piety.[10] The analysis is approached through three specific themes: controlling saintly abstinence, the construction of the suffering of elite male saints, and deviation from the norm in depositions concerning female saints' holy suffering. With these viewpoints, I hope to highlight the diversity of meanings given to saints' bodies and actions in individual communities and to show that although there were clear, culturally established norms around what constituted holiness and holy suffering, individual devotees and communities gave their own meanings to the things they witnessed.

In the past decades, female saints' *vitae* have been used extensively to study their piety and corporality. In more recent years, while a more balanced image of gender and the corporality of sainthood has started to emerge, studies analysing the piety of male saints remain sparse.[11] This reflects the rather unanimous conclusion in the scholarship that medieval culture emphasized the austerity, corporality, and suffering of female saints in particular. My intention is not to say that this conclusion is entirely wrong; rather, what I hope to demonstrate is that careful analysis of austerity and suffering among male saints is needed to complement the larger picture. Indeed, gender was not necessarily as central as has been suggested to devotees of an individual saint who witnessed their holy person's penitentiary practices and suffering. Other cultural and societal factors – such as the saint's background and status – played important roles as well.[12] It is also crucial to remember that medieval (or premodern) gender categories were fluid, as were the gendered ways of performing piety and holiness.[13] Therefore, there was not just one category of female or male holiness.

---

[10] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Berlin: De Gryuter, 2010), 3, 11.

[11] For collections focusing on both men and women, see, e.g., Sam Riches and Sarah Salih, eds., *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2011 [2002]); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, eds., *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991); for studies focusing on holy men, see P. H. Cullum, "Feasting Not Fasting: Men's Devotion to the Eucharist in the Later Middle Ages," in *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 184–200; Marita von Weissenberg, "Generations of Men and Masculinity in Two Late-Medieval Biographies of Saints," in *Men at Home: Domesticities, Authority, Emotions, Work*, ed. Raffaella Sarti, special issue of *Gender & History* 27 (2015): 669–83; and Cullum and Lewis, *Religious Men and Masculine Identity*.

2 Controlling Abstinence

Abstinence from earthly pleasures already defined holiness in late antiquity, particularly in the lives of desert fathers and hermits.[14] In the late Middle Ages, denying oneself daily comforts and even torturing one's body were believed to give a special access to the divine, and asceticism was considered to be a sure way to purify one's soul and to avoid sin.[15] Asceticism thus became one of the key virtues of holiness and as such received the most attention in canonization inquests. This is most evident in the lives of Mediterranean eremitical saints and saints who were nuns, but it is clearly visible in all canonization inquests.

---

[12] This has been pointedly worded by Sharon Farmer, "The Beggar's Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society; Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, eds. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 71: "when we fail to incorporate other categories of difference into our analysis of gender constructions, then it is we, and not the authors whom we study, who end up constructing simplistic gender categories." Martha G. Newman, for her part, writes that the corporeality of the Cistercian choir monks and nuns she studied largely depended on their social standing; hierarchies and social status thus defined corporality and spirituality more profoundly than did gender, at least in certain contexts. See Martha G. Newman, "Crucified by the Virtues: Monks, Lay Brothers, and Women in Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Saints' Lives," in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, eds. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 182–209.

[13] See also Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "A Good Wife? Demonic Possession and Discourses of Gender in Late Medieval Culture," in *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2012), 83; Raisa Maria Toivo, "Gender Performance in Early Modern Religious Life," in *Revisiting Gender in European History, 1400–1800*, eds. Elise M. Dermineur, Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, and Virginia Langum (London: Routledge, 2018), 172–73; McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, esp. 7, 27.

[14] Andrew Crislip, *Thorns in the Flesh: Illness and Sanctity in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), has analysed this extensively.

[15] Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 27–28; Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 59–71; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 191.

At first glance, reports of putative saints' ascetic practices seem quite repetitive. They address diet, harsh sleeping conditions, and the use of a hairshirt. Extreme asceticism was usually attributed to holy women and to hermits. However, closer reading of canonization testimonies reveals that asceticism, like all aspects of holiness, had varying meanings and emphases at the communal level, with the culturally established models for narrating and interpreting holy abstinence often being fluid. Moreover, cultural change intermingled with the development of the canonization process itself. Fasting, most often associated with female saints in its most extreme form, became a common topic in all saints' *Vitae* in the fourteenth century,[16] at the same time that descriptions of extreme fasting and other ways to perform abstinence became more detailed in canonization testimonies. The cultural tendency to highlight extreme fasting and the increasing detail in canonization process records thus went hand in hand.

One aspect of abstinence in which the fluid and negotiable nature of the narratives is clearly visible is that of *discretio*. Although asceticism was valued and valorized, there nevertheless was a constant need to control it: if abstinence and self-inflicted suffering went too far, they could signal hypocrisy, weaken the body to the point that the devil could enter, or, at the most extreme, become a form of suicide and thus a mortal sin.[17] Testimonies of life therefore frequently refer to *discretio* to demonstrate that the saintly candidate was abstinent enough without going too far. There were certain established phrases that gave such claims credibility, but the depositions also demonstrate that what was considered to be discretion varied from one situation to another. Furthermore, regulating austerity was not simply a duty of the holy person alone, but also of their entire community.

A common way to testify about discretion was to report that the saint had fasted or performed other ascetic practices *unless* they were infirm. This was specifically pointed out, for example, in the *articuli* of the process of St. Clare of Montefalco (1268–1308), conducted in Spoleto (Italy) in 1318–19. Clare is one of the late medieval female saints in whose *fama* suffering is most notable. She is particularly famous for the discovery made by the nuns of her cloister after her death: when embalming their late abbess, they found the objects of Christ's passion in her heart and the symbol of the trinity in her gallbladder.

---

[16] Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 146.

[17] Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, 72–73; Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 42–46, 84–85, 196, 239; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 333, 340, 350.

According to the canonization inquest, Clare herself had said that she had Christ's cross in her heart.[18]

Clare's canonization process carefully investigated her strict asceticism and very corporeal *imitatio Christi* in addition to her ongoing health problems and her devoted patience in dealing with them. To investigate the appropriate level of asceticism, the *articuli* specify that Clare fasted "almost always" (*quasi continue*), but she did eat more when "very infirm" (*tantum infirmata*) because the physicians, her confessor, and the abbess told her that she must.[19] Similar statements were made in the inquests of male saints, regardless of whether they were laymen or clerics. For instance, the servants of Charles of Blois, duke of Brittany (1319–64), reported in his 1371 canonization inquest that they had noticed the lesions and wounds on his skin, which were caused by his use of a hairshirt, as well as his "inflated eyes" (*oculos inflatos*) caused by constant prayer.[20] At the same time, witnesses to his life, the same servants included, reported how strictly he fasted on holy days, unless he was infirm. According to one of them, the duke eased his diet only when his physicians told him that he was too weak to do great fasting.[21]

References to physicians are by no means a coincidence, as they were important witnesses in late medieval and early modern canonization inquests. This aspect of their expertise has been more closely studied concerning miraculous healing, but their advice was also commonly referred to in testimonies about life.[22] Their words, even when paraphrased, gave credibility to the physical marks of sainthood, and in some canonization processes the putative saint's personal physician was one of the key witnesses to their life.[23] As the testimonies of Charles of Blois's servants demonstrate, witnesses knew how to use physicians' words to prove the proper level of asceticism.

---

[18] For a summary of Clare's canonization inquest, see Menestò, "The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of Clare of Montefalco," 104–29; and for the discovery, Katharine Park, "Relics of a Fertile Heart: The 'Autopsy' of Clare of Montefalco," in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, eds. Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 115–33.

[19] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1984), 4–5.

[20] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4025, fols. 14v, 32v, 36v, 50r, 67r. Charles and his canonization process are more thoroughly discussed below.

[21] BAV MS Vat. at. 4025, fol. 13v: "[…] nisi esset prohibitus per suos medicos qui ipsum asserebant impotentem ad ampliora ieiunia facienda."

[22] See also Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 191–225, esp. 216–17.

[23] This is notable particularly in the hearings of Delphine of Sabran, whose process is discussed in Nicole Archambeau's chapter in this volume, St. Peter of Luxembourg, and Charles of Blois. The testimony of Charles's physician will be discussed below; for St. Peter's physician, see Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints," 217.

The other group that is frequently mentioned as controllers of asceticism is, perhaps unsurprisingly, the confessors. The importance of individual confessors as recorders and delineators of female saints' lives – or at least of their *Vitae* – is a well-studied topic.[24] Confessors were important figures in saintly candidates' spiritual lives, and, particularly for lay saints, their role was crucial for the formulation of saintly *fama*.[25] The confessor was usually mentioned in a similar light as the physician: his role was to control rather than to accelerate ascetic behavior. Obedience to one's confessor was equally used to prove the candidate's modesty, although the methods of doing so varied from context to context, and here the particularities of the saint's cult and especially the saint's gender played a role.

Confessors played an extremely important role in the *fama* and canonization of St. Frances of Rome, a lay female saint. Originally known as Francesca Bussa di Ponziani (1384–1440), she was the daughter of a Roman elite couple. At the age of twelve, Frances was married to Lorenzo Ponziani, the son of a wealthy family from Trastevere, later a commander of the papal troops. The couple had three children. Following Lorenzo's death in 1436, Frances moved to the convent of Tor de' Specchi, the home of the Oblates of St. Frances, which she had founded and which were named after her. She had earned a reputation as a holy woman even before her widowhood, since she was a well-known pious figure – particularly in Trastevere and Campitelli – who had, for example, transformed the family's palazzo into a hospital and practiced charity and healing activities in her community.[26]

Frances's first hearing was conducted in August 1440, only five months after her death. The second hearing was conducted in 1443 and the third in April 1451. A few additional testimonies from 1453 are included in the dossiers.[27] The first hearing presents the articles and the depositions in a somewhat vague form, with the witnesses being recorded primarily as having confirmed the contents of the article. The later hearings were recorded in a more conventional way, with each deposition recorded individually. The first process specifically mentions that several people had known Frances personally and could testify about her virtues, including her spiritual daughters and female members of her own social circles as well as her second confessor and hagiographer, Johannes (or Giovanni) Matteotti. Many of these same people also testified in the later hearings.[28]

---

[24] See, e.g., John Coackley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Catherine Mooney, ed., *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

[25] Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Worldly Saints: Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1999), 54.

[26] For Frances's biography, see Arnold Esch, "Francesca Bussa, santa," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLIX (1997), www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santa-francesca-bussa_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

[27] Arnold Esch, "I processi medioevali per la canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana (1440–1451)," in *La canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana. Santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna*, eds. Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Giorgio Picasso (Florence: Edizione del Galluzzo, 2013), 39–52. On Frances's canonization and

The ninth article of the 1440 inquest pertained to Frances's obedience toward her two confessors; to prove this point, the article records an instance in Frances's youth when she was gravely ill and ordered to drink wine by her first confessor, Antonius de Monte Sabelli. Frances obeyed but vomited the wine up, which the witnesses confirmed.[29] The article and witness statements portray Frances's mind and body as doing everything that was proper to demonstrate her discretion, obedience, and willingness to practice austerity. While her mind followed the ideal of obedience, her body – which always aimed at holiness – solved the contradiction.[30] The way the witness statements are recorded leaves an impression that they had heard about the matter from the saint herself. What is obvious here is that Frances's devotees saw her body as a protector of her saintly ambitions. No such narrative appears in the later investigation in

---

cult, Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, ed., *Francesca Romana. La santa, il monastero e la città alla fine del Medioevo* (Florence: SISMEL, 2009); Arnold Esch, "Die Zeugenaussagen im Heiligsprechungsverfahren für S. Francesca Romana als Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte Rom im frühen Quattrocento," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 53 (1973): 93–151.

[28] The background of all witnesses in Frances's processes has been extensively analysed by Arnold Esch. He has concluded that the witnesses come from a politically specific group of people; most were members of the pro-Colonna nobility who participated in governing the last free commune of Rome (1395–98) and/or from families who had belonged to the popular party who lived in Trastevere and Campitelli. Esch, "Die Zeugenaussagen," esp. 96–97, 107–8; see also Esposito, "St. Francesca and the Female Religious Communities," 197–99.

[29] *I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani* (*Santa Francesca Romana*) *1440–1453*, ed. Placido Tommaso Lugano, Studi e Testi 120 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945), 26–27.

[30] In a similar manner, Frances's first inquest, for example, records a bodily reaction to being married; she became gravely ill and was healed only after witnessing a vision of St. Alexis: *I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani*, 10. See Paolo Golinelli, "*Velut alter Alexius*: The Saint Alexis Model in Medieval Hagiography," in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Kirsi Salonen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 141–52, on St. Alexis and later saints.

1451, however. The article and statements therein are much more conventional in their portrayal of Frances giving up her habit of flagellation and sleeping in linen clothes or a hairshirt because her confessor Giovanni Matteotti had told her to do so due to infirmity caused by old age.[31] This demonstrates again how the conductors' preferences influenced the nature of the proof given by the witnesses to life.

Frances of Rome was an exceptional and even controversial saint, since she was a married (widowed) woman with children and had lived her holiness in a very secular setting. There are also indications in her canonization hearings that suspicions were raised regarding the orthodoxy of her healing activities. Quite a few witnesses to her *miracula in vita* were asked whether any incantations were used, an exceptional question for late medieval canonization inquests.[32] All this presumably influenced the way Frances's obedience and discretion were investigated, and why the first hearing in particular offers such tangible, corporeal proofs of these aspects of her sainthood.

Making reference to physicians' and confessors' roles in controlling austerity gave the witnesses the opportunity to admire and highlight the saintly candidates' otherworldly asceticism and highlight their obedience and discretion. These professionals acted as markers of proper behavior while simultaneously providing legally credible evidence of the saintly candidate's acts. The witnesses to saints' lives knew how to mention these men in a way that would properly highlight their message. The devotees interpreted their saints' actions on the grounds of corporeal signs, while a physician and/or a confessor could intermediate these observations. Sporadic pieces of evidence demonstrate that other members of the saints' communities could also participate in describing their ascetic practices, although that is very rare if the person in question was not a member of the holy person's household.[33]

---

[31] See also Agnes Pauli Lelli's testimony on Frances using a hairshirt until she gave it up because of her infirmity and old age. *I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani*, 240–41.

[32] See, e.g., *I Processi inediti*, 263, 265, 266, 267. "Incantations" was an umbrella term covering prayers, recipes, and secrets. Mary O'Neil, "Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Modena," in *Witchcraft, Healing, and Popular Diseases. New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology*, ed. Brian B. Levack (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 172–99, at 175. I have discussed Frances's healing activities more thoroughly in Jenni Kuuliala, "The Saint as Medicator: Medicine and the Miraculous in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy," *Social History of Medicine* (2020): https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkaa053.

[33] See Kuuliala, *Saints, Infirmity, and Community*, 145–46, for discussion on such an example in St. Nicholas of Tolentino's canonization process.

Thus, the way discretion was proved was not uniform, but it could be constructed by different means. Another, albeit less common, way of doing so was through reports of miraculous survival during extreme asceticism. It was believed that such survival was possible only through the grace of God,[34] and that he thus sanctioned it. An illustrative example appears in the materials related to Clare of Montefalco concerning the change of mind of a physician called Phylippus de Spoleto, who had visited the infirm saint. Phylippus had heard that Clare practiced extreme fasting and was incredulous that she could survive the ordeal. On his way home, a storm rose and upon arriving he was "almost dead" (*semivivus*). The following night Clare's voice spoke to him, saying that the change of weather had happened because of his incredulity; as a result, he changed his mind.[35] While the incident only survives in Bérenger de Saint-Affrique's *Vita* of Clare, I have chosen to paraphrase it here because it is most likely that Phylippus's canonization testimony reported the incident. The *Vita*, after all, is based on the diocesan hearing of Clare conducted by Bérenger and, although his testimony does not survive, Phylippus is listed as a witness in Clare's canonization inquest, which repeated large parts of the diocesan hearing. The physician's conversion was undoubtedly an effective way of highlighting Clare's supernatural endurance to ensure that her asceticism was of the proper type and specifically favored by God.

In her discussion of the miracles of St. Vincent Ferrer, Laura Ackerman Smoller notes witnesses' tendency to highlight their own role in the course of events.[36] People like Phylippus de Spoleto most likely did the same thing when testifying about their role in proving a holy life. Like them, nuns living in the same convent as a female saint, such as Clare of Montefalco or Margaret of Hungary (1242–70), reported the intimate knowledge they held about the holy women's ascetic and devotional practices and the bodily signs of them.[37]

---

[34] Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 192. See also Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism*, 73. This view is clearly visible in the witness account of one of the brothers in John Buoni's inquest, discussed in Saku Pihko's chapter in this volume. He testified that that the Holy Ghost must have fed the hermit or he would not have remained alive. AASS, Oct. IX, 830.

[35] *Vita sanctae Clarae de Cruce, ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini: ex Codice Montefalconensi saeculi XIV desumpta*, ed. P. Alfonsus Semenza (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1944), 26.

[36] Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 434–40.

[37] As an example of testimonies regarding St. Margaret, a sister in her convent reported that Margaret often reported that she had pain in her knee, and the said sister had seen how swollen the knee was. This was due to her extensive genuflections. *The Oldest Legend. Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary*, eds. Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi (Budapest: CEU University Press, 2018), 324–25.

This kind of closeness with the saint boosted the testifying person's role within the community while also providing much needed information for the commissioners. And, as with miracle narratives, these encounters and experiences undoubtedly kept being reminisced about and retold among the devotees, ultimately securing their position in the communally established narrative of the saint's life.

3 Masculine Suffering and Warrior Saints

To further analyse the way gender, earlier models of holy suffering, and culturally established ideas framed interpretations of saintly suffering, I will now discuss the sanctity of the warrior-rulers Charles of Blois (duke of Brittany) and Louis IX of France (1214–70). The sanctity of these two figures intersects with historical events of their time, but with different emphases.

Louis IX is famous for his leadership of the seventh and eighth crusades; he died in the midst of the latter one. During the seventh crusade, he fell ill with dysentery and was captured in the course of the fall of Damietta.[38] Although the crusade was a military disaster for his army, Louis's patience and devotion during his illness and captivity were a prominent feature in his hagiography. The documents of Louis's canonization hearing held at Saint-Denis in 1282–83 are unfortunately mostly lost, but we have a fairly good picture of their contents because Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, a Franciscan friar who acted as the confessor of Louis's widow and daughter, wrote his *Vie et miracles de Saint Louis* around 1303 based on those documents.[39] Louis's illness and suffering is also described in detail in the surviving witness account of his brother Charles of Anjou (1227–85), king of Sicily.[40]

---

[38] For Louis's captivity, see, e.g., M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Captivity of Louis IX," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 18 (2013): 85–114.

[39] For materials related to Louis IX's canonization, see M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 19–65. The section concerning miracles has been edited in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les miracles de saint Louis*, ed. Percival B. Fay (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931) and the part concerning his life in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899). Paraphrasing the testimony of Louis's longtime servant Yzembarz, Guillaume wrote a detailed description of the king's illness, explaining, for example, how Louis's teeth were rickety, his skin was blotchy and pale, he had severe flux, and he was so thin that his spine appeared to stick out. Furthermore, Yzembarz had to carry the king "to his necessities." Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, 54–58, 112–19.

Thirty-nine witnesses to Louis's life appeared at his hearing. Only three were women. Among the thirty-six male witnesses were members of the king's family, other noblemen, clerics, and members of his staff.[41] Many of these men had accompanied Louis on the crusades, and undoubtedly their experiences were a prominent memory for them and therefore something they reminisced about and reported on. It is impossible to investigate the views of each witness, but it is safe to say that Louis's devoted suffering was, together with his pious rule, a key element of his *fama*. Guillaume reorganized the material from the canonization inquests according to specific saintly virtues, using Bonaventure's *Legenda major* of Francis of Assisi and Franciscan ideals as his guides. He also emphasized events that took place during the crusades.[42] The Franciscan liturgy of Louis, which most efficiently distributed his official sainthood, also gives Louis's experiences profound meaning, on par with the *stigmata* of St. Francis and the sufferings of Christ.[43]

As a Franciscan favorite and a French ruler, Charles of Blois's sanctity was in many ways modeled after the sainthood of St. Louis IX.[44] There are, however, intriguing differences in these men's military campaign experiences. Charles, a nephew of Philip VI of France who inherited the title of the count of Blois from his father and the duchy of Brittany through his wife, Joan of Penthièvre (ca. 1319–84), was involved with the Breton War of Succession fought between those supporting Joan and Charles and those supporting Joan's uncle, John of Montfort; the latter's quest for the inheritance of the duchy was supported by England's Edward III. Charles was taken prisoner at the Battle of La Roche-Derrien in 1347 and sent to the Tower of London for five years. A treaty signed in 1353 gave Charles the ducal title. The war resumed, however, in 1363, this time with John's son John IV opposing Charles and Joan. After some initial success with his troops, Charles died in 1364 at the Battle of Auray, which ended the conflict, and John IV of Montfort was appointed as the new duke.[45] Charles's canonization, then, was promoted strongly by his political supporters, including Breton Franciscans, and, not surprisingly, fiercely opposed by John IV. The inquest was held in the Franciscan church of Angers in 1371.[46] Charles's inquest is one of those in which no *articuli* was used (they were penned afterwards); however, the witnesses were not allowed to recite their memories about his life freely, but rather were asked to answer specific questions similar to other inquests into saintly candidates' lives. As with the *Lives* of other secular rulers, Charles's piety appears to have been the most prominent virtue throughout the inquiry.[47]

---

[40] *Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis*, ed. Le comte Riant (Paris: Renouard, 1884); for an English translation, see Peter Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade 1244–1254: Sources and Documents* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 115.

[41] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, 7–10.

[42] Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 37–39.

[43] M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Louis IX and Liturgical Memory," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, eds. Elma Brenner, Mary Franklin-Brown, and Meredith Cohen (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 261–76.

[44] Jean-Christophe Cassard, "Les coulisses de la sainteté? Charles de Blois vu par son entourage," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 116 (2009), http://abpo.revues.org/165.

Although there is some symmetry in Charles's and Louis IX's military experiences, war was investigated quite differently in the two men's inquests. Admittedly, almost all witnesses to Charles's life mentioned the losses he suffered during the war when testifying about his *patientia* and *humilitas*,[48] but these testimonies lack detail and focus primarily on his piety and devotional practices. When reading the testimonies of some of those closest to Charles during the war, however, it is evident that a personal relationship with the duke and memories of shared war experiences were prominent features of their memories of his reign.

Three witnesses to Charles's final battle at Auray reported that he had been severely infirm beforehand. Here, again, the household members' willingness to control the saint's actions becomes visible. One of Charles's servants reported that the servants had rebuked the duke for wanting to go into the battle while suffering such "debility" (*debilitate*), but the duke had responded that he wanted to defend his people.[49] This statement portrays Charles's final moments as (political) martyrdom, reflecting contemporary cultural ideals of a knight who heroically faces his death.[50] Yet, this narrative was not emphasized in Charles's *fama* and seems instead to have been a prominent memory for only a small selection of witnesses. The same holds true for the wounds he had suffered earlier at La Roche-Derrien. Charles's *medicus* Georgius de Lesnen, the canon of Nantes, was the only witness who offered detailed information about the event. In his testimony about Charles's *patientia*, Georgius recalled that the duke had suffered seventeen wounds before being captured by the English in 1347 and was lying on a bed with a feather mattress. A knight named Thomas Dagorne (Sir Thomas Dagworth, d. 1352) had the mattress taken away to cause Charles indignity, leaving the duke lying on straw. Charles reportedly thanked God for this.[51] The wounds are well reported in other sources of the period: *Les grandes chroniques de France* states that Charles was wounded in seven locations, with more than one of the wounds being sufficient to have been fatal;[52] they were also included in Richard Lescot's chronicle.[53]

---

[45] See, e.g., Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300–c.1450*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 14–21, for details.

[46] For Charles's cult and canonization, see Laurent Héry, "Le culte de Charles de Blois. Résistances et réticenses," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 103 (1996): 39–56; André Vauchez, "Canonisation et politique au XIV^e^ siècle. Documents inédits des Archives du Vatican relatifs au procès de canonisation de Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne (d. 1364)," in *Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Martino Giusti, Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano II*, Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 6 (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1978), 381–404.

[47] See Marita von Weissenberg, "'What man are you?' Piety and Masculinity in the *vitae* of a Sienese Craftsman and a Provençal Nobleman," in Cullum and Lewis, *Religious Men and Masculine Identity*, 112–25.

[48] For example, BAV MS Vat. at. 4025, fols. 11v, 13v, 16r, 23v, 33v, 37r.

[49] BAV MS Vat. at. 4025, fol. 38r. The other witnesses reporting this infirmity were presbyters: BAV MS Vat. at. 4025, fols. 23v, 35r.

Given that the wounds were reported in a number of chronicles, it is somewhat surprising how little attention they received in the canonization inquiry. After all, wounds are often portrayed in medieval literature in the context of Christ's passion and as objects of meditation and *imitatio Christi*;[54] they therefore would have provided excellent proof of Charles's *patientia*. The few references to them resemble those made to St. Louis IX's illness and captivity in relation to his patience and devotion during the hardships he faced; in this sense, there was an existing model on which to base these narratives. However, the different emphases on suffering during military campaigns in the two saints' processes are most likely explained by the fact that, unlike for Louis IX, Charles's military campaigns were primary secular in nature. It is also possible that the cult promoters felt the need to downplay them due to the tense political situation with the new duke. Furthermore, Charles's wounds did not fit well into the established medieval narrative of a knight's injuries, in which wounds usually were mentioned only if fatal.[55] Nevertheless, it is no coincidence that it was Georgius de Lesnen who provided the exception. Charles's injury must have been a significant memory for him, given that he was the duke's physician and remained in his company throughout his captivity; presumably his testimony about the matter was also considered to be substantial.

---

[50] See Miikka Tamminen, "The Crusaders' *Stigmata*: True Crusading and the Wounds of Christ in the Crusade Ideology of the Thirteenth Century," in *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*, ed. Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio, and Jenni Kuuliala (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 103–17.

[51] BAV MS Vat. at. 4025, fol. 11v. See Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints," 216, on Georgius de Lesnen.

[52] *Les grandes chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1920–53), vol. IX, 304: "si li demanderet qu'il se rendist, ausquiex il respondi que ja à Anglois il ne se rendroit, et qu'il avoit plus chier à souffrir mort, ja soit ce qu'il fust navré de VII plaies."

[53] *Chronique de Richard Lescot. Religieux de Saint-Denis (1328–1344) suivie de la continuation de cette chronique (1344–1364)*, ed. Jean Lemoine (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1896), 79.

[54] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 302–6.

These reports of suffering are very masculine and reflect activities reserved for elite men. They were not, however, the norm for the way *patientia* was constructed for non-eremitical male saints. More common among witnesses to these saints' lives was the type of patient suffering related to arguments or scorn received from peers.[56] Aside from the tendency to construct female sainthood in more corporeal terms, another factor in the gendered *patientia* was male saints' ability to participate actively in the world and to perform their holiness in more secular settings.[57] Yet, a closer look at elite male saints' canonization processes in particular reveals that witnesses did give importance to suffering that was more corporeal, or even feminine. It is difficult to ascertain whether the lesser emphasis placed on these reports during the processes reflected the weight witnesses gave them or the commissioners' preferences. Most likely both these aspects influenced the way such suffering was portrayed in the canonization documents.

Despite the fact that testimonials about Louis IX's suffering were so thoroughly coloured by the crusades, his devotees did report other incidents in which suffering was a key element. The description of Louis's infirmity in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's *Vie* is based on testimony by the knight Pierre de Laon and possibly others – at least, the incident was witnessed by several *chevaliers* and one or two chamberlains who slept in the king's room. According to the text, Louis suffered from a malady that troubled him several times a year. It was so painful that the king wailed and could not get up from his bed; his foot also became red and swollen.[58] Once, an elderly servant named Jehan la Guete, who had been in the service of Louis's grandfather Philip II, let a burning drop of oil fall on the king's ailing leg, making him stretch across his bed and cry out in pain. Still, the king did not "hold anything against" the servant.[59]

---

[55] Constance Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 117.

[56] von Weissenberg, "What man are you?" 112–13; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 171.

[57] See Meri Heinonen, "Henry Suso and the Divine Knighthood," in *Holiness and Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, eds. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 79–92.

[58] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, 116: "La quele maladie estoit tele que, quant ele prenoit le benoiet roy, il n'entendoit pas bien ne n'ooit endementieres que la dite maladie le tenoit, et ne pooit mengier ne dormer et se compleignoit en gemissant. Et einsi la dite maladie le tenoit iij jours, aucune foiz plus aucune foiz moins, si que il ne pooit issir par soi du lit."

This mention of the king's reaction to his illness – wailing – is atypical; saints typically are not described as complaining when in pain. However, Guillaume and undoubtedly the witnesses used the malady to highlight the saintly king's kindness towards his household staff, another frequent theme in medieval hagiography.[60] Louis's unsaintly reaction to his pain thus highlighted its severity and his patience and kindness towards the old servant, rather than his inability to be stoic in the face of adversity. As in many other cases, Louis's household members and those closest to him were the main, if not only, sources of this information; their testimonies about the event are an illuminating example of the varying meanings devotees could give to suffering, and how they knew how to use it to highlight different aspects of elite male sainthood.

4 Feminine Suffering and Authority

Late medieval hagiography emphasized suffering, but the meanings given to the suffering of female saints in particular are not as straightforward as they may appear. Clare of Montefalco, for example, was a suffering saint in every aspect of the word, and close reading of the testimonies given by nuns of her cloister reveal that her suffering and *imitatio Christi* were important parts of their memories. Yet they also reported other aspects of her life that give quite a different image of how they remembered their saintly abbess.

Clare was the abbess of a small, poor convent and therefore did not have as much economic and political power as her colleagues who were ruling large and wealthy establishments.[61] Even though she was a cloistered nun, she was a visible figure in her community – not just as a miracle worker or a spiritual sufferer but as an adviser and leader as well. Several testimonies given at her inquest spoke to the spiritual advice she gave to her (lay) devotees, men and women alike.[62] Her wisdom and gift of prophecy, both important elements in late medieval canonization processes, were asserted by the nuns of her convent, who explained how she knew their inner faults and reprimanded them in private.[63] Here, the sisters occasionally used Clare's ill health not to highlight suffering per se, but rather to emphasize her other characteristics. This is shown in sister Marina's testimony: she stated that when Clare was so *debilis et infirma* that she could no longer perform her tasks, she "helped the said sisters with her advice and sweet words."[64] Marina therefore drew a parallel between Clare's helping the sisters in acts and in words, while also specifying that she continued to be useful for the convent even when she was physically incapacitated.

---

[59] Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de saint Louis*, 117.

[60] Charles of Blois was also frequently reported as a good master. See also Cassard, "Les coulisses de la sainteté?" 4.

[61] A thorough analysis of abbesses' rule and responsibility is found in Jennifer C. Edwards, *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). Abbesses were supposed to be in office for life; for their resignation and misbehaviour, see Graciela S. Daichman, *Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 17–20.

Clare's canonization process put a great amount of weight on her mental faculties, her wisdom, and her theology.[65] A mystic who possessed divine wisdom was a common theme cultivated particularly in Italy;[66] Clare's process is therefore not an exception, but it nevertheless is illuminating given the amount of detail recorded. Her brother Franciscus, a Franciscan friar, spoke specifically to these issues and explained how Clare managed to turn wrongdoers into virtuous people simply by talking with them. He also remarked that she had divine knowledge and seemed to possess a "most profound intelligence" (*intellectum profundum et profundissimum*).[67] Clare's spiritual wisdom was also linked to one of the most famous episodes of her life: her connection with heretics of the free spirit, specifically with Bentevenga da Gubbio. The process investigated this matter thoroughly, apparently to remove any suspicions about her relationship with the man. According to the articles and witness statements, Clare revealed to the friar the errors in his thinking and urged officials to punish him.[68]

---

[62] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 228–29, 316–17, 391–92, 447, 449.

[63] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 42–45, 47–48, 333. Before 1350, this pertained to the ability to read hidden secrets and faults, but later on the gift was directed toward solving the problems of the Church. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 524–25.

[64] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 107: "iuvabat dictas sorores in consiliis et dulcibus verbis." Sister Thomassa testified to the same article (p. 179) but made no reference to the time Clare was infirm. Interestingly, Sister Francesca's testimony does not include a deposition to this article; this may be because she had only known Clare for the two final years of her life.

[65] The relevant articles are LIX and LX.

[66] David Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 320.

[67] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 275–78. See also Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 320, for Clare's relationship with scholarship.

[68] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 17–18, 57–59.

The sisters' testimonies to Clare's *patientia* are further proof of the significance they gave to her role as the abbess. When asked about the matter, sister Marina explained that Clare did not complain in her infirmity or tribulations but took them all patiently, thanking the Lord. This was a standard response, but the follow-up question perhaps reveals something about her thinking. The commissioners inquired whether she was referring to any special or grave tribulations. In response, Marina did not comment on Clare's illness at all but instead reported an instance when Clare was abbess and two local brothers came into their convent against the sisters' will and said improper words to them, defaming them, apparently because they were angry that their own sister had joined the convent.[69] According to Marina, Clare took all this abuse patiently, encouraged the sisters, and did not want to involve secular authorities in punishing the wrongdoers.[70] Sister Thomassa also reported the same incident.[71]

It seems obvious that a presumably traumatic incident in which Clare saved the community under her rule was a vivid and important memory for the sisters, as they eagerly reported it to the commissioners – perhaps even ignoring more conventional demonstrations of Clare's patience. It also seems plausible that they had a model on which to construct their memory. There is a similar but more famous event recorded in the documents concerning Saint Clare of Assisi (1194–1253). One of the sisters of her convent testified in the 1253 canonization inquiry about an incident during which Clare, holding a monstrance, expelled the Saracen mercenaries of Fredrick II who had attacked her convent. The sister referred to Clare's infirmity – she was another known sufferer – stating that she was ill at the time yet managed to bravely take on the invading men.[72] The story found its way into Thomas of Celano's *Vita* of Clare of Assisi and was a topic commonly depicted in iconography;[73] it is plausible that the sisters of Clare of Montefalco's convent were aware of the story and used it to frame their own testimonies. All in all, these depositions clearly demonstrate the weight the sisters gave to their holy abbesses' heroic deeds.

---

[69] The sister is identified in the edition of Clare's process as Caterina da Montefalco; she was witness number 3 in the inquest, but her deposition is missing. *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 610.

[70] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 109–10.

[71] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 40–41, 135, 210.

[72] *Santa Chiara di Assisi. I primi documenti ufficiali. Lettera di annunzio della sua morte, processo e bolla di canonizzazione*, ed. Giovanni Boccali (Santa Maria degli Angeli: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2002), 215.

[73] Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "St. Clare Expelling the Saracens from Assisi: Religious Confrontation in Word and Image," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43.3 (2012): 643–65.

As the examples of the two Clares show, a female saint's community members could frame saintly patience around the injustice they faced and the power they used. As with male saints, female saints' patience and resourcefulness in the face of trouble was a common element of their holiness. Analysis of female saints should thus move beyond any discussion of exception: female saints, like male saints, were more than simple epitomes of the significance that medieval culture attributed to them. It is, however, noteworthy that in most of these narrations, women faced trouble and indiscreet behavior from members of the opposite sex, not from other women. At the same time, the writers of the *articuli* and some of the witnesses connected these activities to the female saints' bodily infirmities. A culturally established female trait of sainthood thus underlined or justified a seemingly male element of holiness, thereby highlighting the fluidity of gender categories while also demonstrating that hagiographic conventions related to gender did not prevent witnesses or theologians from considering other aspects of saints' lives essential.

5 Conclusions

Rereading testimonies about saints' lives reveals connections and relationships between small details and cultural models of a holy life, thus offering a fruitful way to study late medieval devotion, lay piety, and the communal formation of saints' cults. Suffering and corporality, themes of great importance in late medieval hagiography, provide illuminating windows into the way saintly *fama* and virtues were constructed. The testimonies can also be read as demonstrations of the fluidity of gender categories. Analysis of gendered – or non-gendered – suffering allows a more versatile exploration of gendered sainthood than has been the traditional approach. Regardless of their saint's gender, devotees could reflect their own memories as well as their own devotion through the bodily manifestations of holy women and men's abstinence and patience. Although female and male saints largely operated in different fields and their cults had different emphases, their bodies and the way they lived their bodies and their suffering through them conveyed similar messages.

The (usually elite) witnesses who testified about their awareness of a saintly candidate's virtues knew how to use small details alongside personal relationships and recollections to highlight and give proof to their declarations. Furthermore, analysis of these documents shows that although the established cultural model of a holy life shaped the devotees' memories of their saints, their personal views and encounters were ever present in the recollections.

Personal relationships with a saint served the canonization process but also enhanced the witnesses' status among the devotees. Just as stories about miracles were a common topic for discussion, so, too, must have been the little details about the saint's life.

An analysis of the details and even deviations from the norm in canonization testimonies further shows that although there were culturally accepted and internalized models of holiness, and although people were well aware of the virtues that a saintly candidate must demonstrate, at the communal level sainthood was a versatile, multifaceted phenomenon. Born in a communal setting, a holy life was always situated somewhere, in a distinct time and place. The saint's actions and the demonstrations of their holiness had to speak to the community of devotees. Without this, a saintly *fama* could not be born.

CHAPTER 6

Safe and Dangerous Names: Uncovering Connections and Boundaries in the Canonization Inquest for Countess Delphine de Puimichel, 1363

Nicole Archambeau

Inquest questioning in the fourteenth century urged witnesses to name names. While this act might have created danger for the named person in a criminal or heresy inquest, a canonization inquest usually did not threaten people's possessions, livelihoods, or lives.[1] But naming names in a canonization inquest could have an impact on the holy person's reputation, and therefore their chance for canonization.[2] Through questioning, witnesses revealed how they saw or heard about a holy person, experienced one or more miracles, and told others about their experiences. At each stage, they named the people they spoke to, saw, or heard about in relation to events in the holy person's life.[3] Their testimonies therefore reveal groups of people interacting in the penumbra of the saint, even across barriers of social status, sex, and political affiliation. In this way, saints acted as a node around which complex networks could form.

If witnesses mentioned the wrong names, however, they could place their local saint in a network considered questionable by the papal court and others who influenced the ratification of official Catholic saints. The beliefs and actions of politically or spiritually problematic groups could hurt the

---

[1] John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 30–33. James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 68–71. Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 121–41. Daniel Lord Smail, *Legal Plunder: Households and Debt Collection in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[2] Thomas Kuehn, "Fama as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence," in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, eds. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 27–46.

[3] Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in *Miracles and Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 20–25.

© NICOLE ARCHAMBEAU, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_008

reputation of a local saint. As witnesses testified in a canonization inquest, one assumes that they carefully considered whom they mentioned as they spoke about their experiences and what they knew about the proto-saint's life and miracles.[4] Digital visualization tools can help us see this careful consideration and ultimately contextualize the names witnesses chose to share or not share with inquest commissioners.[5]

The 1363 canonization inquest of Countess Delphine de Puimichel, which took place in Apt, Provence, is a useful text for visualizing the potential networks among named individuals and for glimpsing the silences around potentially problematic witnesses. Networks and silences are both possible because of Countess Delphine's long politically and religiously active life. Delphine lived from 1285 to 1360. As a very wealthy heiress in Provence, she was forced to marry in 1300, even though she had wanted to become a nun. Instead of submitting to the marriage debt, she convinced her husband, Count Elzéar de Sabran, to accept celibacy. After he had a vision of the Holy Spirit, they became a spiritual power couple. They were also a political power couple in the kingdom of Naples. Elzéar and Delphine lived for long periods in the court of King Robert and Queen Sanxia of Naples. When in Provence, they presided over a court that many at the time described as more like a monastery.[6] After Elzéar's death, Delphine took a vow of poverty, sold all of her moveable goods and landed wealth, and returned to Provence permanently. She lived until she was seventy-five, and though she never became a nun, she lived in convents and hermitages and traveled to important cities in Provence, like Avignon, which was the seat of the papacy at the time.

Roughly seventy witnesses spoke in Countess Delphine's inquest. Papal commissioners allowed witnesses to speak to as many of the nearly 100 articles of interrogation – which were short statements about specific life events and miracles – as they wanted. Witnesses could also introduce new events and miracles into the inquest through open-ended articles of interrogation and when replying to questions from the commissioners. As in other canonization inquests, papal commissioners frequently asked witnesses about the people involved in each of Delphine's life and miraculous events.[7] In Delphine's inquest, network visualization reveals conversations and other interactions within families as well as between men and women of different social status. A former *juge mage* of Provence, for example, described speaking to family members and colleagues about the miracles they experienced through Delphine's sanctity. Through this testimony, we learn about female members of his family we might not otherwise see, and we also get the sense that he valued the stories his family told. In another example, however, a merchant's widow spoke to the Patriarch of Jerusalem about Delphine, whom they both knew. Speaking about a local saint, therefore, gave both families and diverse individuals the opportunity and permission to interact, sometimes across the dinner table, at other times across cultural boundaries.

---

[4] Michael Goodich, "'*Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*': Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (London: The Boydell Press, 2005), 141–43.

[5] This process shares similarities with Daniel Lord Smail's approach to criminal inquests in "Witness Programs in Medieval Marseille," in *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*, ed. Michael Goodich (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006), 227–50.

[6] Andre Vauchez, "Aux origines de la 'Fama Sanctitatis' d'Elzéar (d. 1323) et de Dauphine de Sabran (d. 1360). Le Mariage Virginal," in *Le Peuple des Saints. Croyances et devotions en Provence et Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Age* (Avignon: Académie de Vaucluse, 1987), 153–63.

But network visualization can also reveal unexpected boundaries. Papal commissioners' questioning structure brought up events (and therefore names) from Countess Delphine's long and diverse life. Countess Delphine had openly supported Franciscan friars during her lifetime. Delphine's support of poverty and the Franciscan Order leads one to expect Franciscans to be well represented in canonization efforts for her. But relatively few witnesses in her inquest were Franciscans. And the key witnesses who were not Franciscans mentioned relatively few Franciscan friars, even though these friars had been common in her entourage for decades and would have been present at the events in her life.

This boundary around Franciscan friars may reflect contemporary speculation that Delphine supported the Spiritual Franciscan movement, especially during her time in the court of Queen Sanxia of Naples.[8] So, even though the papal commissioners included Franciscans in the inquest who described their experiences with Delphine and her social groups, other witnesses did not always name them. This is particularly true for Friar Giraud Raybaud, who was a Franciscan friar close to Countess Delphine for decades. In his long testimony, he described speaking with key witnesses multiple times, but he was not named by those witnesses in return as someone they spoke to, saw, or even heard about at important moments in Delphine's life.

---

[7] Nicole Archambeau, *Souls under Siege: Stories of War, Plague, and Confession in Fourteenth-Century Provence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), 12–17.

[8] Vauchez, "Aux origines," 153–63. Ronald Musto, "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286–1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans," in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, eds. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 179–214. Samantha Kelly, "King Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and the Spiritual Franciscans," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 20 (1999): 41–80. Cristina Andenna, "Women at the Angevin Court between Naples and Provence: Sancia of Majorca, Delphine of Puimichel, and the 'Struggle' for a Female Franciscan Life," in *Queens, Princesses, and Mendicants. Close Relations in a European Perspective*, eds. Nikolas Jaspert and Imke Just (Zurich: LIT, 2019), 29–51. Elizabeth Casteen, "Princely Poverty: Louis of Durazzo, Dynastic Politics, and Heresy in Fourteenth-Century Naples," in *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, eds. Michael Bailey and Sean Field (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 30.

What the experience of Friar Giraud Raybaud reveals is that networks were a two-way process. Witnesses could try to put themselves into networks that formed around a proto-saint by naming others they saw and spoke to. But when they were not named in return, it shows that other witnesses were leaving them out, whether consciously or not.

This essay explores how people talked about Delphine, and through that talk, how they sometimes crossed and sometimes created boundaries in the communities surrounding a local saint. Digital network visualization allows us to see whom witnesses spoke to, observed, and heard about. This historical context can help modern audiences see family interactions through the discussion of miraculous events or see unexpected relationships between men and women of varying status. But it can also show how unexpected barriers could form as political and cultural ideals shifted over time.

This study highlights six witnesses to provide a representative range of social and political groups that interacted around Delphine.[9] The people these six witnesses, in turn, named in their testimonies can help us see the diverse connections that people could make around Delphine during her life and, to a lesser extent, after her death. The six witnesses include Bertranda Bartomieua (Countess Delphine's maid for almost fifty years), Bishop Philippe Cabassole (bishop of Cavaillon and eventually a cardinal and patriarch of Jerusalem), Master Guilhem Enric (a legal professional and the former *juge mage* of Provence), Alazays Mesellano (a wealthy merchant's widow in Apt), Lord Giraud of Simiana (a future lieutenant seneschal of Provence), and Friar

---

[9] All six of these witnesses appeared in important studies of witnesses in Delphine's inquest. This includes Gérard Veyssière, *Vivre en Provence au XIVe Siècle* (Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan, 1998). His book compiles and compares the information from three canonization inquests to build a picture of life in Provence. It also includes Paul Amargier, "Dauphine de Puimichel et son entourage au temps de sa vie Aptésienne (1345–1360)," in *Peuple des Saints*, 111–23. And it includes Pierre-André Sigal, "Les témoins et les témoignages au procès de canonization de Dauphine de Puimichel (1363)," *Provence Historique* 195–96 (1999): 461–72. This essay follows in the footsteps of these scholars who have studied Delphine's inquest and have highlighted how these key witnesses spoke about a variety of articles of interrogation and provided details about Delphine's life, living miracles, and posthumous miracles. This essay adds a new dimension by considering how the witnesses did or did not speak about one another.

Giraud Raybaud (a Franciscan *converso* who was in Delphine's entourage for decades).[10]

These six representative witnesses also provide a sense of the choices that witnesses had during testimony in this canonization inquest.[11] Some witnesses provided large amounts of information, while others were more reticent. Some chose to speak to only a few articles of interrogation, while others addressed many.[12] Both Bertranda Bartomieua and Friar Giraud Raybaud, who had known Countess Delphine for decades, addressed roughly fifty articles of interrogation and offered personal accounts of events in Naples, Nice, Avignon, and Apt. Both of these witnesses named dozens of others whom they spoke to, saw, and heard about in relation to Delphine's life events and miracles. Together, they bring over 100 names into the inquest. Bishop Philippe Cabassole, like Bertranda and Friar Giraud, also interacted with Delphine in Naples and Provence and had known her for decades. He spoke to only eleven articles, however, and gave relatively succinct answers to each. He mentioned thirty-two people during his testimony.

In contrast, both Master Guilhem Enric and Alazays Mesellano spoke to five or fewer articles but gave lengthy testimonies. They gave detailed descriptions of many events in their responses to the open-ended Article 1. In her testimony, Alazays Mesellano mentioned fifty names, even though she had not known Delphine as long as Bertranda and Friar Giraud had. Master Guilhem Enric mentioned only thirty-three names, similarly to Bishop Philippe Cabassole.

Finally, Lord Giraud of Simiana spoke to only two articles and mentioned only ten names, the fewest in this sample. This does not imply that he did not know Delphine, however. He was Delphine's nephew by marriage and had interacted with her at least since 1348, when, according to his wife, Delphine's bed, a powerful contact relic, miraculously healed him when he was near death.[13] Lord Giraud did not mention his miraculous healing in 1348, however, which may indicate that he chose to limit his testimony.

---

[10] For Lord Giraud of Simiana's status, see Fernand Cortez, *Les grands officiers royaux de Provence au Moyen Âge* (Aix-en-Provence: Secrétariat de la Société d'Etudes Provençales, 1921), 82–83.

[11] For an overview of selecting and questioning witnesses, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 81–93.

[12] No one spoke to all 98 articles of interrogation, which is not surprising. Some of the articles concerned the thoughts and experiences of specific individuals, which were not widely known.

[13] Archambeau, *Souls under Siege*, 58–59.

Each witness brought a diverse group of people into the inquest by naming them. Most of those named were not themselves witnesses. Of the 227 people named by these six representative witnesses, only 23 were also witnesses in the inquest. But by being named and placed in Countess Delphine's life, the non-witnesses became part of Delphine's canonization efforts. Their status and reported stories became part of the way witnesses, proctors, and commissioners framed Delphine's sanctity.

1 Medieval Inquests Meet Modern Digital Tools

This essay uses network diagrams to highlight, and in some instances reveal, relationships among witnesses in Delphine's inquest. Digital tools can help scholars see complex medieval documents from different perspectives, allowing us to ask new questions of well-known texts.[14] Network visualization tools can shift our view of a canonization inquest so that we can better see the relationships among witnesses and the people they named. Other tools, like tables and spreadsheets, primarily list information. Network diagrams, in contrast, organize information in ways that show relationships among elements of a list. These accessible, and often free, online programs that create network diagrams from spreadsheets are starting to change how historians work with large data sets.

From many options, I chose to use Gephi, a network visualization tool that allows significant flexibility in depicting interactions visually. Delphine's canonization inquest included sixty-eight witnesses, roughly half men and half women, with diverse clerical and social statuses. Over the course of their testimonies, witnesses named hundreds of other people that they saw, heard about, or spoke to in relation to Delphine's holy life, her living miracles, and her posthumous miracles. As we see in Figure 6.1, the diagrams produced using Gephi for this essay turn each person into a node represented by a circle that varies in size based on the person's interaction with others. The diagrams also include lines (called edges) of various thickness to show the connections (or lack of connections) between nodes. These nuances can reveal how a person fit into a network around Countess Delphine and whether a group is perhaps leaving someone out.

---

[14] The work of scholars associated with Social Network Analysis Researchers of the Middle Ages (SNARMA) shows the many ways this is being done.

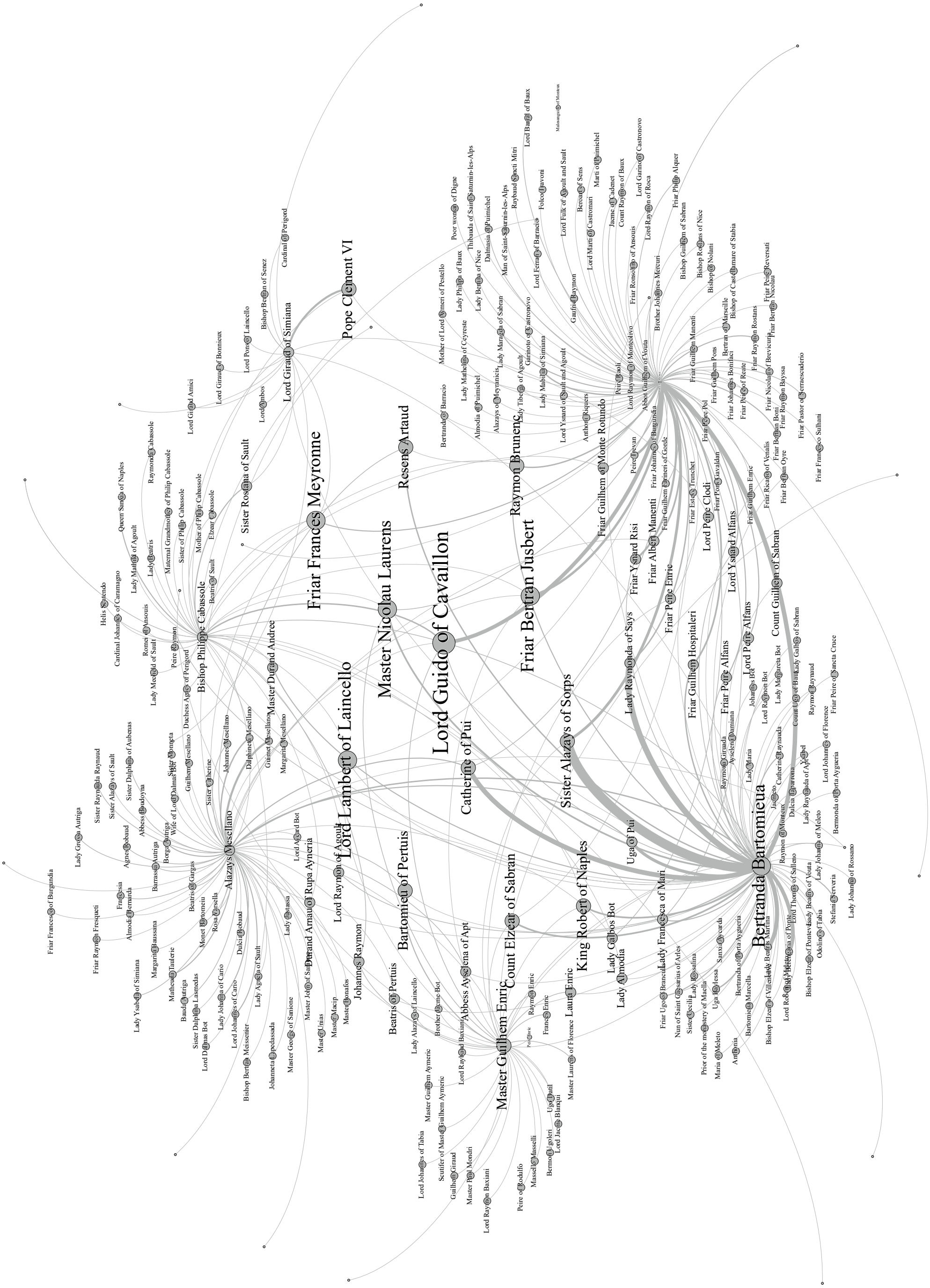
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Bertranda Bartomieua
Master Nicolau Laurens
Friar Bertran Jusbert
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Friar Frances Meyronne
Sister Alazays of Sorps
Alazays Mesellano
Master Guilhem Enric
Catherine of Pui
Raymon Brunenc
Resens Artaud
Pope Clement VI
Lord Giraud of Simiana
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Sister Rostagna of Sault
Master Durand Andree
Count Elzear of Sabran
King Robert of Naples
Bartomieu of Pertuis
Durand Arnau of Rupa Ayneria
Johannes Raymon
Beatris of Pertuis
Abbess Ayscelena of Apt
Lady Calbos Bot
Lady Almodia
Lady Francesca of Mari
Uga of Pui
Lady Raymonda of Says
Friar Guilhem of Monte Rotundo
Friar Ysnard Risi
Friar Albert Manenti
Friar Peire Enric
Friar Guilhem Hospitaleri
Friar Peire Alfans
Lord Peire Alfans
Lord Peire Clodi
Lord Ysnard Alfans
Count Guilhem of Sabran
Lord Raymon of Agoult
Laura Enric
Abbot Guilhem of Voута
Cardinal of Perigord
Bishop Bertran of Senez
Lord Pons of Laincello
Lord Giraud of Bonnieux
Lord Giraud Amici
Queen Sancia of Naples
Lady Matilda of Agoult
Duchess Agnes of Perigord
Lord Barral of Baux
Poor woman of Digne
Lady Philipa of Baux
Lady Beatris of Nice
Lady Margarita of Sabran
Lady Mabilia of Simiana
Lord Ysnard of Sault and Agoult
Friar Philip Alquer
Bishop Guilhem of Sabran
Bishop Rostans of Nice
Bishop of Nolani
Bishop of Castellamare of Stabia
Friar Peire Reversati
Friar Bertran Nicolau
Friar Raymon Rostans
Friar Raymon Bayssa
Friar Pastor of Serrascaderio
Friar Francesco Sulhani
Friar Frances of Burgundia
Friar Raymon Fresqueti
Lady Ysabella of Simiana
Bishop Bertran Meissenier
Master George of Sanione
Lord Raymon Baxiani
Master Guilhem Aymeric
Lord Johannes of Tabia
Peire of Rodulfo
Lord Jacob Blanqui
Master Laurens of Florence
Nun of Saint Caesarius of Arles
Prior of the monastery of Maella
Bishop Elzear of Villeneuve
Lord Johannes of Rossano
Bermonda of Porta Ayqueria
Friar Peire of Sancta Cruce
Lord Johannes of Florence

FIGURE 6.1 All individuals named by six key witnesses

2 Safe Names in the Communities around Delphine

Network visualization reveals a few trends of connections forming around Delphine. First, we see connections between male and female witnesses and across status divides that show how a local holy person allowed diverse people to speak to each other. The holy person formed a point of contact between people who otherwise might not have had an appropriate space to interact. Second, witnesses often named their family members as people they spoke to about Delphine's life and miracles. This allows us to see well-known political figures from a different perspective. Finally, we see a group of people who likely would have been key witnesses if they had been able to attend the inquest. The size of the nodes and edges shows that these people were important for access to Delphine's life and miracles. Their stories had to be told by others, however, for them to be included in the representation of Delphine's sanctity. In all three trends, we see that communication about the holy person helped people form and strengthen bonds, and in some instances cross social barriers.

2.1 *Interacting across Status*

Two witnesses, Bishop Philippe Cabassole and Bertranda Bartomieua, stand out in the Gephi visualizations as interacting across social statuses. Both inhabited several overlapping communities surrounding Countess Delphine.[15] Bishop Philippe Cabassole was from a politically well-connected family in Cavaillon and interacted with the Crown of Naples for decades. He wrote a book about King Charles II's discovery of the relics of Mary Magdalen in Provence.[16] King Robert, who claimed the aspirational title King of Jerusalem, appointed Cabassole patriarch of that holy city, a title that was used in Delphine's inquest. After King Robert's death in 1343, Robert's widow, Queen Sanxia, included Cabassole in the governing council of the kingdom of Naples. While that council was soon disbanded by Robert's heir, Queen Johanna I, the new queen kept Bishop Philippe Cabassole as her chancellor.[17]

---

[15] I have chosen to use the title "bishop" for consistency in this essay, but he held several titles that reflect his important roles in the kingdom of Naples, the Avignon papacy, and Provençal cities.

[16] Victor Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole et son *Libellus hystorialis* Marie beatissime Magdalene," in *L'état Angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1998), 193–204.

[17] Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole et son *Libellus*," 194. Katherine Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 18–19.

Bishop Philippe Cabassole also served several Avignon popes. Pope John XXII appointed him bishop of Cavaillon in 1334, after he had served as a cathedral canon in Cavaillon and Apt for almost a decade. In 1362, Philippe became the rector of the papal lands in Provence, which were called the Comtat Venaissin. A few years later, Pope Urban V made him the vicar general for Avignon and then bishop of Marseille. By 1368 he was appointed as a cardinal, but he also served as bishop of Sabine and the cardinal-protector of the Friars Minor.[18]

While carrying out the work required by these diverse titles, Bishop Philippe Cabassole mentioned meeting and observing Countess Delphine in Naples and cities in Provence multiple times. During his time in these places, he interacted with men and women close to Delphine at the highest social levels. As we see in Figure 6.2, Bishop Philippe Cabassole mentioned speaking to Duchess Agnes of Périgord and Queen Sanxia of Naples, who were powerful women in the kingdom of Naples.[19] He also spoke with members of the high aristocracy of

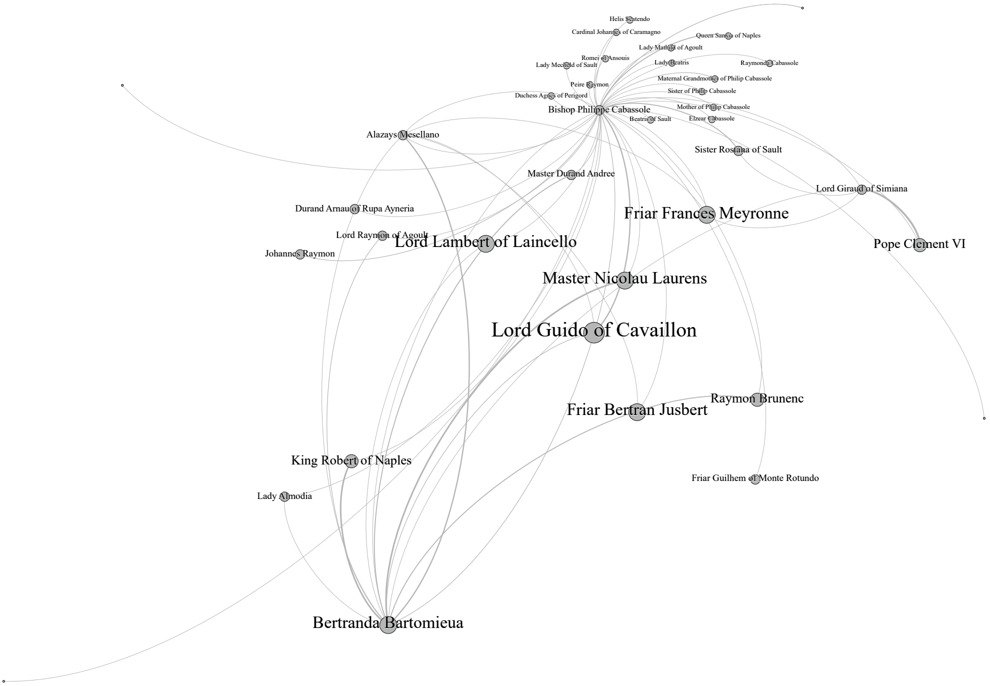
Helis Scatendo
Cardinal Johannes of Caramagno
Queen Sanxia of Naples
Lady Mathild of Agoult
Romei of Ansouis
Lady Mechild of Sault
Lady Beatris
Raymonda Cabassole
Maternal Grandmother of Philip Cabassole
Peire Raymon
Sister of Philip Cabassole
Duchess Agnes of Perigord
Mother of Philip Cabassole
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Beatris of Sault
Elzear Cabassole
Alazays Mesellano
Sister Rostana of Sault
Master Durand Andree
Lord Giraud of Simiana
Durand Arnau of Rupa Ayneria
Friar Frances Meyronne
Lord Raymon of Agoult
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Pope Clement VI
Johannes Raymon
Master Nicolau Laurens
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Raymon Brunenc
Friar Bertran Jusbert
King Robert of Naples
Friar Guilhem of Monte Rotundo
Lady Almodia
Bertranda Bartomieua

FIGURE 6.2 Individuals named by Bishop Philippe Cabassole

---

[18] Jacques Cambell, "La sommaire de l'enquête pour le canonisation de S. Elzear de Sabran, T.O.F. 1323," *Miscellanea francescana* 73 (1973): 439.

[19] Each network visualization in this article uses empty nodes to help the program center the visualization.

Provence.[20] In terms of the Catholic hierarchy, he interacted with Friar Francis Meyronne and Pope Clement VI.

But he did not just speak with people at the highest levels of society. He included other groups in his testimony as well. For example, he named the merchant's widow from Apt, Alazays Mesellano, and Bertranda Bartomieua as people he saw and spoke to. As we will see below, he also mentioned many of his own family members.

Bertranda Bartomieua, like Bishop Philippe Cabassole, also inhabited overlapping communities. She was Delphine's maid for over forty years.[21] She traveled with Delphine to the royal court in Naples, the papal court in Avignon, and towns and hermitages in Provence. We know little about Bertranda, since she said little about herself in the inquest. But several witnesses referred to her as Lady Bertranda, reinforcing the sense that she was likely from the aristocracy of Digne, where Countess Delphine grew up in her uncle's care after her parents died. Bishop Philippe Cabassole likely met and conversed with Bertranda due to their shared interactions with Delphine. In their testimonies they named each other as present at important events in Delphine's life.

Like Cabassole, Bertranda described crossing social boundaries by observing and speaking to men and women of significantly higher status, but also people of equal or lower status to herself. As Figure 6.3 shows, not only does she mention speaking to people like Bishop Philippe Cabassole and King Robert of Naples, she also mentions people in the local aristocracy of Provence, such as Uga and Catherine of Pui of Bonnieux and many members of the Bot family, who were the local aristocracy of Apt. She also speaks of people outside of the aristocracy altogether, such as the merchant couple Bartomieu and Beatrice of Pertuis, and Alazays Mesellano.

In contrast to Bishop Philippe Cabassole and Bertranda Bartomieua, Lord Giraud of Simiana almost exclusively mentioned people of high status in Provence, Naples, and the papal court.[22] As we see in Figure 6.4, these included Pope Clement VI, Cardinal Talleyrand of Perigord and Bishop Philippe Cabassole. In fact, the lowest status person that he mentioned was likely Bertranda.

What we see from these interactions was that naming people of a different sex or social class was not considered inappropriate in canonization inquests. A witness like Bertranda Bartomieua might name higher status individuals than herself that she met through Delphine. But witnesses like Bishop Philippe

---

[20] These included men and women like Lady Mathild of Agoult, Lady Mecheld of Sault, and Lord Raymon of Agoult.

[21] Sigal, "Les témoins," 471. Veyssière, *Vivre en Provence*, 68.

[22] Florian Mazel, *La noblesse et l'Église en Provence, fin* X*e–début* XIV*e siècle. L'exemple des familles d'Agoult-Simiane, de Baux, et de Marseille* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2002), 652.

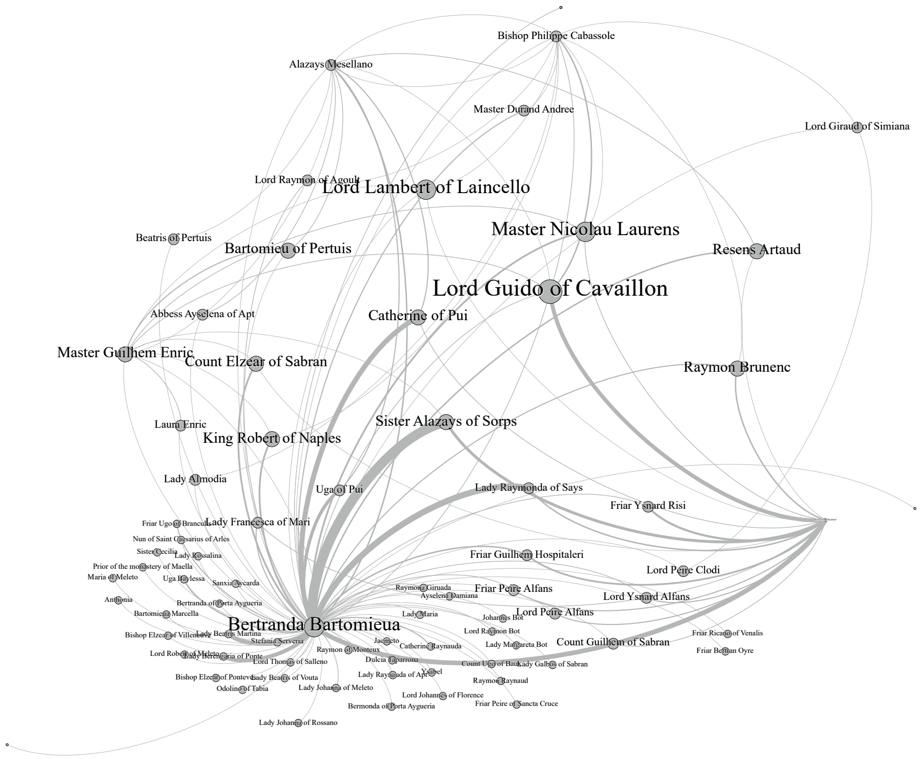
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Alazays Mesellano
Master Durand Andree
Lord Giraud of Simiana
Lord Raymon of Agoult
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Master Nicolau Laurens
Beatris of Pertuis
Bartomieu of Pertuis
Resens Artaud
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Abbess Ayselena of Apt
Catherine of Pui
Master Guilhem Enric
Count Elzear of Sabran
Raymon Brunenc
Laura Enric
King Robert of Naples
Sister Alazays of Sorps
Lady Almodia
Uga of Pui
Lady Raymonda of Says
Friar Ysnard Risi
Friar Ugo of Branculis
Lady Francesca of Mari
Nun of Saint Caesarius of Arles
Sister Cecilia
Lady Rossalina
Friar Guilhem Hospitaleri
Prior of the monastery of Maella
Lord Peire Clodi
Maria of Meleto
Uga Baylessa
Sanxia Aycarda
Raymona Giruada
Ayselena Damiana
Friar Peire Alfans
Lord Ysnard Alfans
Anthonia
Bertranda of Porta Aygueria
Bartomieua Marcella
Lady Maria
Johannes Bot
Lord Peire Alfans
Bertranda Bartomieua
Lord Raymon Bot
Friar Ricano of Venalis
Bishop Elzear of Villeneuve
Lady Beatris Martina
Stefania Serveria
Jacmeto
Lady Margareta Bot
Count Guilhem of Sabran
Lord Robert of Meleto
Lady Berengaria of Ponte
Raymon of Monteux
Catherine Raynauda
Friar Bertran Oyre
Lord Thomas of Salleno
Dulcia Taparrona
Count Ugo of Baux
Lady Galbos of Sabran
Bishop Elzear of Pontevès
Lady Beatris of Vouta
Lady Raynauda of Apt
Ysabel
Raymon Raynaud
Odolino of Tabia
Lady Johanna of Meleto
Lord Johannes of Florence
Bermonda of Porta Aygueria
Friar Peire of Sancta Cruce
Lady Johanna of Rossano

FIGURE 6.3 Individuals named by Bertranda Bartomieua

Cabassole might also mention lower status individuals that they met or heard about through their interactions with Delphine or by discussing her miracles with others. But it is good to remember that witnesses chose the people they named. A witness like Lord Giraud, for example, chose to name very few others, and almost all of these were high-status individuals.

2.2 *Family Conversations*

The visualizations reveal that several witnesses spoke to their family members about Delphine's miracles. The politically well-connected witness Master Guilhem Enric is an interesting example. Master Guilhem held many positions over the years in the royal court of Naples in Aix-en-Provence, often in relation to finance and law.[23] In his legal capacity, he worked with high-status witnesses

---

[23] For an overview of Guilhem Henric's career, see Germain Butaud, Michel Hébert, Thierry Pécout, and Alain Venturini, "Les procédures de verification. Le registre AD13, B 1065," in Thierry Pécout, ed., *L'Enquête Générale de Leopardo da Foligno en Provence. Réformation et*

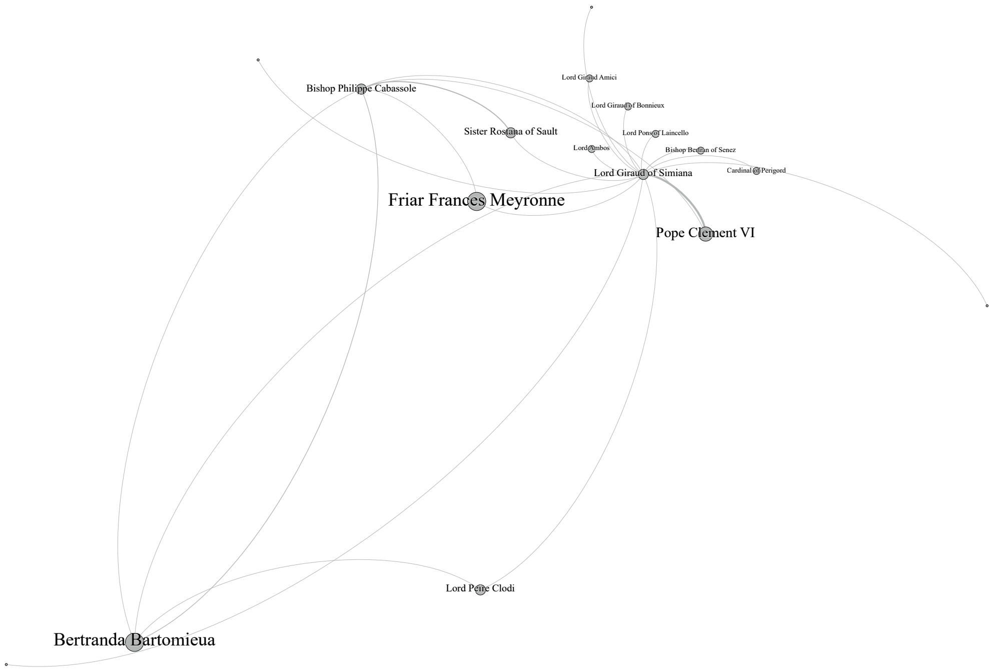
Lord Giraud Amici
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Lord Giraud of Bonnieux
Sister Rostana of Sault
Lord Pons of Laincello
Lord Ambos
Bishop Bertran of Senez
Lord Giraud of Simiana
Cardinal of Perigord
Friar Frances Meyronne
Pope Clement VI
Lord Peire Clodi
Bertranda Bartomieua

FIGURE 6.4 Individuals named by Lord Giraud of Simiana

but did not always choose to mention them in his testimony. For example, in 1342 he worked with the then seneschal, Lord Ugo of Baux, as the procurator in an inquest concerning the annona of Marseille.[24] So, he was well aware of Lord Ugo's violent confrontation with Count Raymon of Agoult in 1349, which Countess Delphine worked to de-escalate at the request of Bishop Philipe Cabassole.[25] Master Guilhem chose not to mention what he knew about this famous event and the high-status individuals involved.

Vérification (1332–1334) (Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2015), 283 n. 11. For his time as *maître rational*, see Thierry Pécout, "Les maîtres rationaux angevins au XIV^{e} siècle. Le cas de la Provence," *Reti Medievali Rivista* 20 (2019): 155–87.

[24] Georges Lesage, *Marseille Angevine. Recherches sur son évolution administrative, économique, et urbaine de la victoire de Charles d'Anjou a l'arrivée de Jeanne Ire (1264–1348)*, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950), 173 and 184–86.

[25] For the "war of the seneschals," see Noël Coulet, *Aix en Provence. Espace et relations d'une capitale (milieu XIVe s.–milieu XVe s.)* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de Université de Provence, 1988), 60–67.

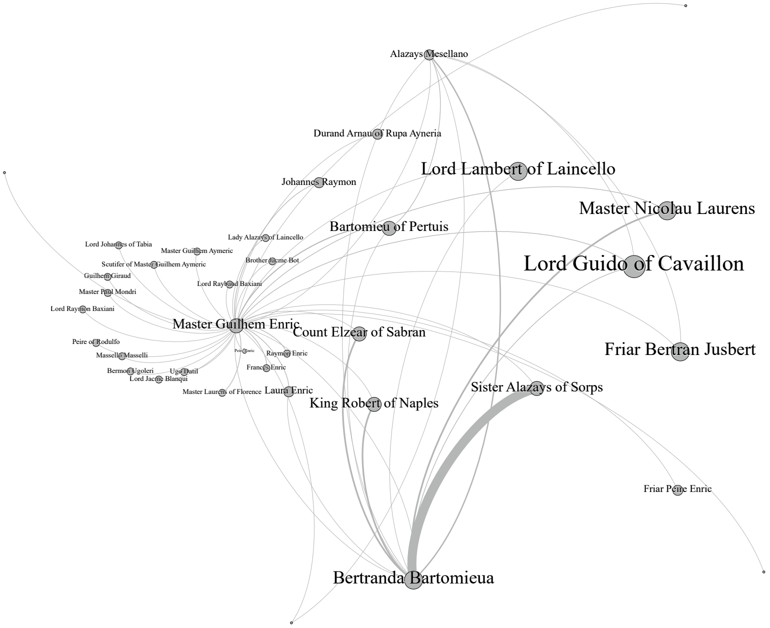
Alazays Mesellano
Durand Arnau of Rupa Ayneria
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Johannes Raymon
Master Nicolau Laurens
Bartomieu of Pertuis
Lady Alazays of Laincello
Lord Johannes of Tabia
Master Guilhem Aymeric
Brother Jacme Bot
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Scutifer of Master Guilhem Aymeric
Guilhem Giraud
Lord Raybaud Baxiani
Master Paul Mondri
Lord Raymon Baxiani
Master Guilhem Enric
Count Elzear of Sabran
Friar Bertran Jusbert
Peire of Rodulfo
Peire Enric
Raymon Enric
Massello Masselli
Frances Enric
Bermon Ugoleri
Ugo Datil
Lord Jacme Blanqui
Sister Alazays of Sorps
Master Laurens of Florence
Laura Enric
King Robert of Naples
Friar Peire Enric
Bertranda Bartomieua

FIGURE 6.5 Individuals named by Master Guilhem Enric

Instead, Figure 6.5 shows that he did choose to speak of four members of his family, especially his wife, Laura. From Master Guilhem's testimony it is clear that he and his family were close to Delphine. The holy woman visited him when he was sick and aided his wife when she was ill.[26] Delphine also wondrously knew Laura would have a son, which was unexpected after fourteen years of marriage.[27] The visualization of Master Guilhem's testimony shows that he chose to speak of his own family members as well as high-status individuals, like Count Elzéar of Sabran and King Robert of Naples. But contextualizing his career shows that he left out several high-status individuals that he could have named, including Count Raymon of Agoult.

Alazays Mesellano also spoke frequently about her family members. Figure 6.6 shows that the merchant's widow mentioned six members of her family, all of whom were involved in healing miracles. From her testimony, it is clear that Alazays was a well-traveled and very wealthy woman. She spoke of seeing Delphine in Naples, Nice, and Apt. She mentioned seeing and speaking to high-status witnesses, such as Bishop Philippe Cabassole and Lady Ysabela of Simiana. She did not hesitate to speak of her family members, however. Four

---

[26] Cambell, *Enquête*, 368.

[27] Cambell, *Enquête*, 366–67.

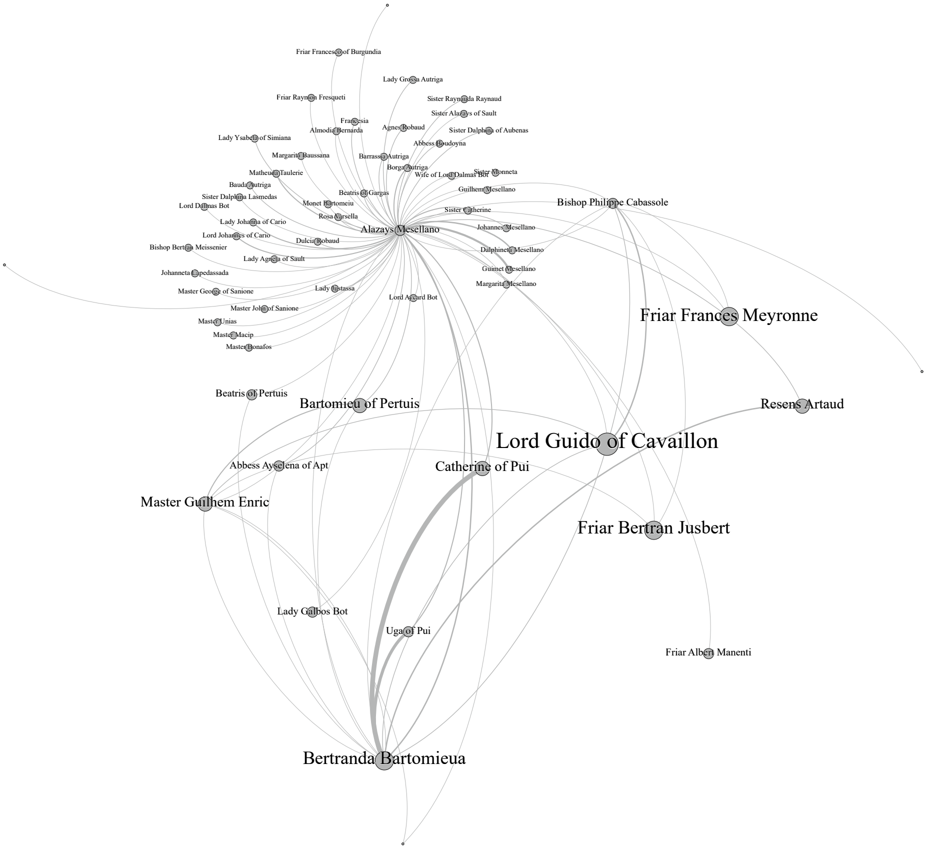
Friar Francesco of Burgundia
Lady Grossa Autriga
Friar Raymon Fresqueti
Sister Raynauda Raynaud
Sister Alazays of Sault
Francesia
Almodia Bernarda
Agnes Robaud
Sister Dalphina of Aubenas
Lady Ysabela of Simiana
Abbess Boudoyna
Margarita Baussana
Barrassia Autriga
Matheuda Taulerie
Borga Autriga
Wife of Lord Dalmas Bot
Sister Monneta
Bauda Autriga
Guilhem Mesellano
Sister Dalphina Lasmedas
Beatris of Gargas
Lord Dalmas Bot
Monet Bartomeiu
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Sister Catherine
Rosa Varsella
Lady Johanna of Cario
Alazays Mesellano
Johannes Mesellano
Lord Johannes of Cario
Dulcia Robaud
Bishop Bertran Meissenier
Dalphineta Mesellano
Lady Agneta of Sault
Guimet Mesellano
Johanneta Lapedassada
Margarita Mesellano
Master George of Sanione
Lady Justassa
Lord Aycard Bot
Master John of Sanione
Friar Frances Meyronne
Master Unias
Master Macip
Master Bonafos
Beatris of Pertuis
Bartomieu of Pertuis
Resens Artaud
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Abbess Ayselena of Apt
Catherine of Pui
Master Guilhem Enric
Friar Bertran Jusbert
Lady Galbos Bot
Uga of Pui
Friar Albert Manenti
Bertranda Bartomieua

FIGURE 6.6 Individuals named by Alazays Mesellano

family members, for example, were named in the miraculous healing of her granddaughter, Dalphineta, who was named after Countess Delphine.[28] This group included her daughter, who was a nun in the Holy Cross Convent and had access to relics of Delphine. Alazays also mentioned her son, who received a healing miracle from Delphine after many expensive doctors had failed to heal the fistula in his leg.[29] Through her testimony, she seemed to integrate Delphine into her own family, showing through miraculous cures how much the holy woman cared for her and those she loved.

---

[28] Cambell, *Enquête*, 435.

[29] For more about Alazays's role in helping her family members during illness, see Nicole Archambeau, "Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85 (2011): 531–59.

Bishop Philippe Cabassole also mentioned five members of his extended family in his testimony (see Figure 6.2) Scholars are more familiar with his famous male relatives, including his uncle, Johannes Cabassole, who was a magister rational and *juge mage* for the royal court in Provence, and his father, Isnard Cabassole, who was the royal vicar of Arles in 1316, one of the largest cities in the region.[30] But in his testimony Bishop Philippe Cabassole spoke of female relatives, including his niece Almodia and his nephew's wife Raymunda. They told him about Delphine's miraculous healing of Raymunda's infant son.[31] Bishop Philippe did not testify to personal experience of any of Delphine's miracles, but by bringing his family's voices into the inquest, he brought their experiences of miracles.

In these examples, we see that family members helped each other during illnesses and discussed miracles with each other. Not surprisingly in a holy woman's inquest, women's voices were particularly dominant. The miracles that these stories brought into the inquest deal with family health care, especially children's care, a site of women's knowledge. These testimonies show that it was appropriate for witnesses to share other family members' stories with the papal commissioners, regardless of their own political or religious status. Even high-status male witnesses could share female family members' miracle stories. It might seem quaint to modern audiences that Bishop Philippe Cabassole, the patriarch of Jerusalem who was also a cardinal, told the papal commissioners about his niece's experience of a miracle. But we cannot assume that was the spirit in which this information was received, since women's knowledge of health care and their important place as family caregivers were recognized by papal commissioners in this inquest.[32] What we can see is that family members shared stories, which were in turn shared during the canonization inquest. Since none of the other family members testified in the inquest, the one family member is the only voice we have for these miracle stories.

2.3 *Missing Voices*

Because Delphine lived until she was seventy-five years old, it was difficult to find contemporaries to testify about her early life. In addition, waves of plague and mercenary attacks in the region had a significant impact on the population.

---

[30] Cortez, *Les grands officiers*, 205–9; Saxer, "Philippe Cabassole et son *Libellus*," 193.

[31] Cambell, *Enquête*, 534. Raymunda's son was named Elzear, suggesting a tie to the famous holy couple.

[32] Nicole Archambeau, "Miracle Mediators as Healing Practitioners: Knowledge and Practice of Health and Healing with Relics," *Social History of Medicine* 31 (2017): 209–30.

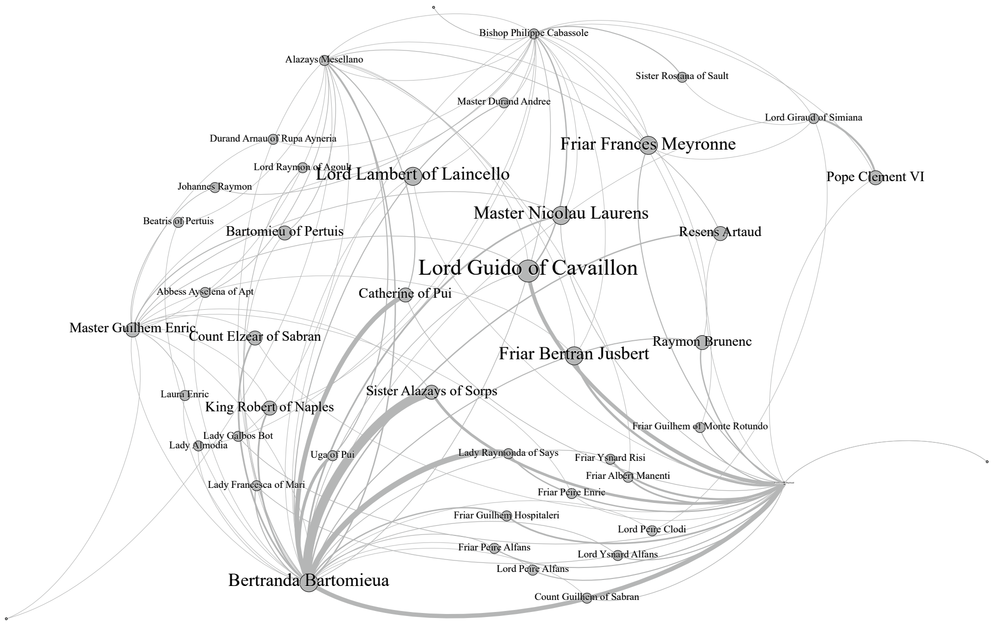
Bishop Philippe Cabassole
Alazays Mesellano
Sister Rostana of Sault
Master Durand Andree
Lord Giraud of Simiana
Durand Arnau of Rupa Ayneria
Friar Frances Meyronne
Lord Raymon of Agoult
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Johannes Raymon
Pope Clement VI
Beatris of Pertuis
Master Nicolau Laurens
Bartomieu of Pertuis
Resens Artaud
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Abbess Ayselena of Apt
Catherine of Pui
Master Guilhem Enric
Count Elzear of Sabran
Raymon Brunenc
Friar Bertran Jusbert
Sister Alazays of Sorps
Laura Enric
King Robert of Naples
Friar Guilhem of Monte Rotundo
Lady Galbos Bot
Lady Almodia
Uga of Pui
Lady Raymonda of Says
Friar Ysnard Risi
Friar Albert Manenti
Lady Francesca of Mari
Friar Peire Enric
Friar Guilhem Hospitaleri
Lord Peire Clodi
Friar Peire Alfans
Lord Ysnard Alfans
Lord Peire Alfans
Bertranda Bartomieua
Count Guilhem of Sabran

FIGURE 6.7 The most commonly named individuals by all six key witnesses

Those who survived faced dangerous travel and increasing political instability. All of these factors likely had an impact on who testified in Apt and Avignon in 1363. Network analysis shows several people had been close to Delphine, witnessing many of her life events, saintly characteristics, and miracles, who were not able to attend the inquest. These missing voices were brought into the inquest through the testimony of others.

Figure 6.7 shows the most influential missing voices. These witnesses have the largest nodes and thickest edge lines connecting them to the key representative witnesses in this study. The most influential were Sister Alazays of Sorps, named by three witnesses in relation to twenty-eight articles; Lord Guido of Cavaillon, named by five witnesses in relation to eight articles; Lady Raymonda of Says, mentioned by two witnesses in relation to eighteen articles; and Uga of Pui, mentioned by two witnesses in relation to fourteen articles.[33] These individuals had predeceased Delphine and therefore could not testify in her inquest. From witness testimony, however, it is clear that they were present for events in Delphine's life and told stories about those events to other people. By relating their stories to the papal commissioners, witnesses brought these missing voices into the inquest.

---

[33] Guido of Cavaillon was a key witness in the inquest for Delphine's husband, Count Elzéar de Sabran. See Cambell, "La sommaire de l'enquête," 441. The family name Says is often written as Sais or Sas, see V.-L. Bourilly, *Essai sur l'Histoire Politique de la Commune de*

Of these individuals, Sister Alazays of Sorps was a fascinating figure. Although it is unclear from surviving records, Sister Alazays was likely Delphine's illegitimate half-sister.[34] In 1333, when Delphine was allowed to sell all of her goods and step away from her titles, she spoke of forming a quasi-religious community in Provence with Sister Alazays and others.[35]

Sister Alazays appears in at least one miracle, where she provided some water in which Delphine had washed to a disfigured young woman who had come to Delphine's community to beg for a miracle. Delphine had refused to see the young woman, likely because the illness was not life-threatening and would have provided the suffering in life that Delphine thought was healthy for the soul. But Sister Alazays circumvented Delphine's wishes and provided a contact relic (Delphine's bathwater) that ultimately healed the disfigured woman. From this event, and the many references made by key witnesses, we can see that Sister Alazays was a significant presence in Delphine's life. Sister Alazays was a family member, albeit one of questionable status, and close enough to Delphine to thwart the holy woman's direction and wishes. She did not live long enough to testify, but she left an impression on people who did testify. Bertranda Bartomieua, Friar Giraud Raybaudi, and Master Guilhem Enric all mention her. Her unclear status within Delphine's family did not deter them from speaking about her.

3 Choosing Not to Name a Fellow Witness

Not all of the individuals in Delphine's entourage were safe to name, however. Network visualization reveals a hidden boundary in Delphine's inquest.

Marseille. Des origines a la victoire de Charles d'Anjou (1264) (Aix-en-Provence: Librairie d'Histiore de la Provence, 1925), 315–25.

[34] André Vauchez, "Elzéar et Dauphine de Sabran: Le mariage virginal," in *Le Peuple de Saints,* 153–63. For Sister Alazays, see 157. In his study of the nobility of Provence, Florian Mazel did not include Delphine's half-sisters in Delphine's family tree. See Mazel, *La Noblesse et l'Église en Provence*, 652.

[35] André Vauchez, "Two Lay Persons in Pursuit of Perfection: Elzéar de Sabran and Delphine of Puimichel," in *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel Bornstein, trans. Margery Schneider (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 73–82. For information about forming a community in Provence, see p. 77. Note that Vauchez refers to Sister Alazays as Alayette.

Friar Giraud Raybaud had also known Delphine for decades.[36] Friar Giraud spoke to roughly fifty articles of interrogation and provided crucial information for the inquest. According to his testimony, he had been present for important moments in Delphine's life, including when she took her vow of poverty in 1333 in Casasana, outside of Naples. He gave a detailed testimony about this event, at which very few people were present but which was an important part of Delphine's sanctity. As Sigal pointed out, Friar Giraud positioned himself close to Delphine, her inner circle, and influential Franciscans in Naples, Nice, Apt, and Avignon.[37]

None of the witnesses in this study, who were key individuals in the inquest, named him, however. We see Friar Giraud's isolation from this group of crucial witnesses in Figure 6.1. This visualization shows that Bertranda Bartomieua was highly integrated in the network. The relatively large size of her name and node shows that four of the six sample witnesses spoke about her multiple times. In contrast, Friar Giraud's name and node are the smallest in the visualization. This means that he was not named by any of the other five witnesses. Although he had known Delphine almost as long as Bertranda had and was clearly an integral figure in Delphine's entourage, this crucial group of witnesses did not identify him as someone they spoke to, did not place him in Delphine's presence, and did not even mention hearing about him.

This silence is surprising, especially for Bertranda, since they both had been in Delphine's entourage in Naples, they had both moved to Apt when Delphine relocated there in 1343, and Friar Giraud had lived in the Franciscan house in Apt until Delphine's death in 1360. As we can see in Figure 6.8, Friar Giraud mentioned having spoken to Bertranda many times. This figure also shows that they named many of the same witnesses, indicating that they interacted with many of the same people. Bertranda, however, never named him as someone she saw, heard about, or spoke to. She named other Franciscans, but not Friar Giraud. This silence is also surprising for Master Guilhem Enric. He was one of the main supporters of Delphine's inquest and is mentioned as one of the "faithful, prudent and venerable men" whose legal knowledge helped guide the local inquest on behalf of the three main institutions of Apt involved in the day-to-day proceedings, namely the town syndics, the cathedral of St. Ann, and the Friars Minor.[38] He would have been aware of the witnesses, especially one as important as Friar Giraud. In addition, Master Guilhem stayed at the Franciscan house in Apt several times, at which point he may have met Friar Giraud.[39]

---

[36] Sigal, "Les témoins," 469–70. Veyssière, *Vivre en Provence*, 40.

[37] Sigal, "Les témoins," 470.

[38] Cambell, *Enquête*, 21–27. See "de fidelitate et prudencia atque sciencia venerabilium virorum dominorum … Guillelmi Henrici, magne reginalis curie magistri rationalis," on p. 22.

Friar Giraud was mentioned by other witnesses in Delphine's inquest outside of this key group. For example, Lord Peire Audenq, a cathedral canon at St. Ann and another of the "venerable men" guiding the inquest, mentioned speaking to Friar Giraud in Avignon about Delphine's saintly characteristics.[40] He mentioned Friar Giraud in a long list of people who told him about Delphine, a list that included Master Guilhem Enric, suggesting that they interacted with the same people and may have known one another.

Friar Giraud was also mentioned by Friar Bertran Jusbert, the guardian of the Franciscan house in Apt and one of Delphine's confessors. Friar Bertran testified to over twenty articles of interrogation, and Figure 6.8 shows by the size of his name and node that he was integrated into Delphine's community in Apt. Interestingly, Friar Bertran did not mention *speaking to* Friar Giraud. And when Friar Bertran addressed articles of interrogation about Delphine's vow and practice of poverty, he mentioned hearing about these things from Bertranda Bartomieua, Friar Ysnard Risi, and Friar Albert Manent, not Friar Giraud.[41] Friar Bertran did mention seeing (albeit not speaking to) Friar Giraud twice, but not about Delphine's vow of poverty, even though the Franciscan *converso* had been present for Delphine's vow.[42] What we see from Friar Bertran's testimony is that he knew Friar Giraud, which makes sense since Bertran was guardian of the Franciscan house in Apt where Friar Giraud had lived for almost twenty years. But he chose not to associate Friar Giraud with Delphine's practice of poverty.

Why might these key witnesses have been silent about Friar Giraud Raybaud? It is unlikely they forgot about him, but the simple explanation that they just did not think to mention him does exist. I would suggest, however, following in the footsteps of both André Vauchez and Dyan Elliott, that this silence was a conscious choice. As both of these historians have pointed out, there was concern in Delphine's inquest to present her interacting with

---

[39] Cambell, *Enquête*, 372.

[40] Cambell, *Enquête*, 415.

[41] Cambell, *Enquête*, 220–23.

[42] Cambell, *Enquête*, 236–37. The two mentions were in regards to Article 41, the wondrous healing of the noble lady Maria d'Evenos, and in regards to Article 43, Delphine's wondrous insight into the state of Count Raymon of Agoult's soul after his death. Friar Giraud did not speak to either of these articles, however, so it seems odd for Friar Bertran to link him to these events.

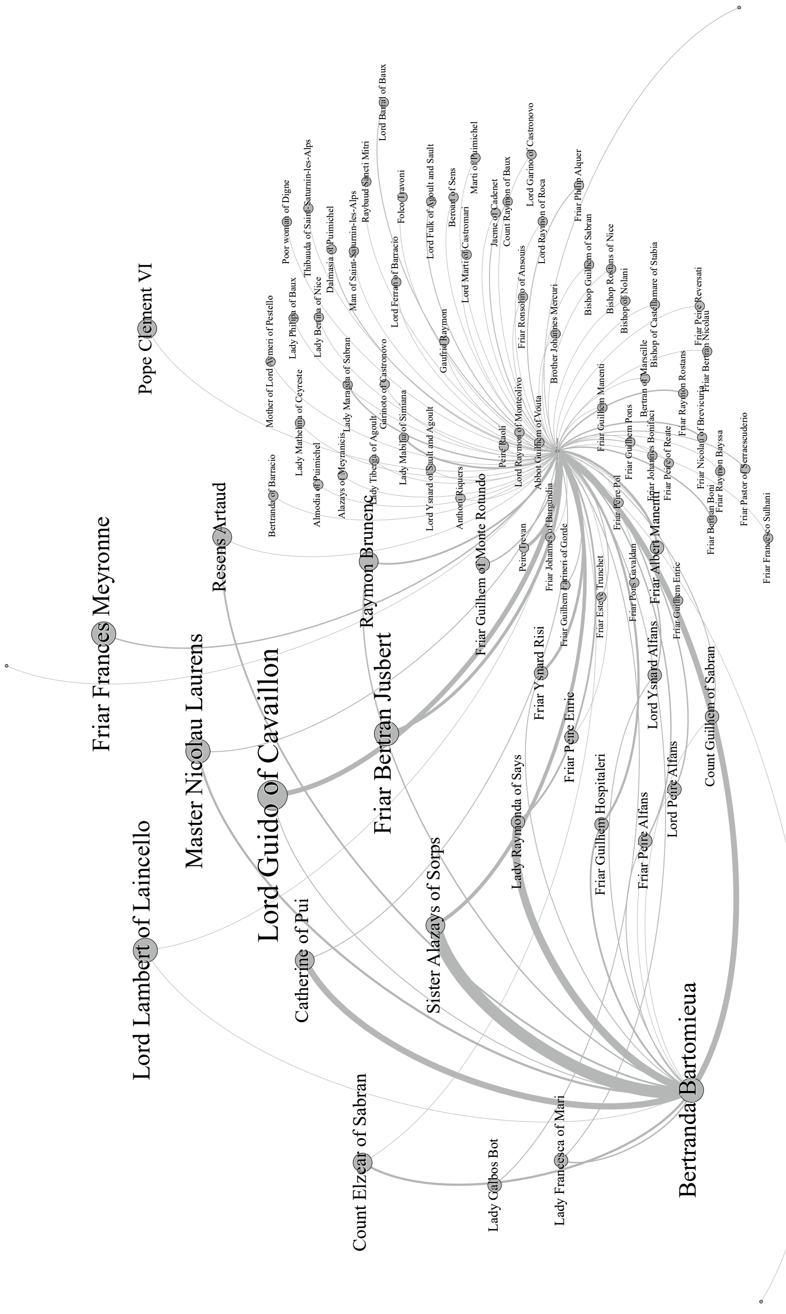
Pope Clement VI
Friar Frances Meyronne
Lord Lambert of Laincello
Master Nicolau Laurens
Lord Guido of Cavaillon
Resens Artaud
Catherine of Pui
Raymon Brunenc
Friar Bertran Jusbert
Sister Alazays of Sorps
Friar Guilhem of Monte Rotundo
Count Elzear of Sabran
Lady Galbos Bot
Lady Francesca of Mari
Lady Raymonda of Says
Friar Ysnard Risi
Friar Peire Enric
Friar Guilhem Hospitaleri
Friar Peire Alfans
Lord Peire Alfans
Lord Ysnard Alfans
Count Guilhem of Sabran
Bertranda Bartomieua
Friar Albert Manenti
Friar Guilhem Enric
Friar Pons Gavaldan
Friar Esteve Trunchet
Friar Guilhem Farineri of Gorde
Friar Johannes of Burgundia
Peire Trevan
Friar Peire Pol
Bertranda of Barracio
Almodia of Puimichel
Alazays of Meyranicis
Lady Tiberga of Agoult
Lord Ysnard of Sault and Agoult
Anthoni Riquers
Lady Mathelina of Ceyreste
Mother of Lord Aymeri of Pestello
Lady Mabilia of Simiana
Garinoto of Castronovo
Lady Maragda of Sabran
Lady Bertina of Nice
Lady Philippa of Baux
Poor woman of Digne
Thibauda of Saint-Saturnin-les-Alps
Dalmasia of Puimichel
Man of Saint-Saturnin-les-Alps
Raybaud Sancti Mitri
Lord Barral of Baux
Lord Ferrand of Barracio
Folco Travoni
Gaufrid Raymon
Lord Fulk of Agoult and Sault
Lord Marti of Castromari
Beroart of Sens
Marti of Puimichel
Jacme of Cadenet
Count Raymon of Baux
Lord Garino of Castronovo
Lord Raymon of Roca
Friar Ronsolino of Ansouis
Peire Raoli
Lord Raymon of Monteolivo
Abbot Guilhem of Vouta
Brother Johannes Mercuri
Friar Philip Alquer
Bishop Guilhem of Sabran
Bishop Rostans of Nice
Bishop of Nolani
Bishop of Castellamare of Stabia
Friar Guilhem Manenti
Bertran of Marseille
Friar Guilhem Pons
Friar Johannes Bonifaci
Friar Peire of Reate
Friar Raymon Rostans
Friar Peire Reversati
Friar Bertran Nicolau
Friar Nicolau of Brevicuria
Friar Raymon Bayssa
Friar Bertran Boni
Friar Pastor of Serraescuderio
Friar Francesco Sulhani

FIGURE 6.8 Individuals named by Friar Giraud Raybaud

the correct Franciscans and not interacting with problematic Franciscans.[43] Jacques Chiffoleau has also discussed the concern that the Franciscan house in Apt shared Spiritual Franciscan values in the early fourteenth century.[44] This may have made witnesses careful to indicate that Delphine did not tolerate controversial Franciscans, but instead tried to correct their views and reported them to the inquisitor in Marseille.[45]

This silence about Friar Giraud did not reflect witnesses' general dislike or distrust of expressions of poverty. While the 1307 inquest and later life of St. Louis of Anjou may have veered away from emphasizing his poverty, Delphine's inquest did not.[46] It was well known that Delphine sold all of her goods and stepped away from her titles.[47] The large circle in Figure 6.7 of Lambert Laincello indicates that several witnesses mentioned his efforts on behalf of the Crown of Naples between 1329 and 1332 to help Delphine sell her goods and property before she took her vow of poverty. Article 23 described her statement to family and household members explaining how she and her (possibly illegitimate) half-sister hoped to change their lifestyles to reflect their new humble status.[48]

Several witnesses, including Bertranda Bartomeiua, described how Delphine would imitate Saint Francis by begging in the street, wearing poor clothing, working in the kitchen at the hermitage in Cabrières, and washing others' feet.[49] Master Guilhem Enric even named his surprise son Frances because he thought it would please Delphine because of her strong attachment to extraordinary poverty.[50]

---

[43] Both André Vauchez and Dyan Elliott consider Delphine's association with Spiritual Franciscans as a possible reason for the failure of her canonization inquest. Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 293–96; and Vauchez, "Aux origines."

[44] Jacques Chiffoleau, *La comtabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort, et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011), 259–62.

[45] Sylvain Piron, "Le mouvement clandestin des dissidents franciscains au milieu du XIVᵉ siècle," *Oliviana* 3 (2009): 1–31; see 9–10.

[46] Holly Grieco, "The Boy Bishop and the 'Uncanonized Saint': St. Louis of Anjou and Peter of John Olivi as Models of Franciscan Spirituality in the Fourteenth Century," *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 247–82. See especially 266–70.

[47] This is explored in André Vauchez, "Entre la Provence et la royaume de Naples: Elzéar (d. 1323) et Delphine (d. 1360) de Sabran," in *Echanges religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, eds. Michele Maccarrone and André Vauchez (Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1987), 89–100.

[48] Cambell, *Enquête*, 46–47.

[49] Cambell, *Enquête*, 47–49.

[50] Cambell, *Enquête*, 366–67.

The silence about Friar Giraud also did not reflect a general distrust of Franciscans. Figure 6.1 shows that these key witnesses mentioned thirty-five Franciscan friars. Of this large group, Figure 6.7 shows that multiple witnesses mentioned three Franciscans, one of whom was Friar Bertran Jusbert, who, as we have seen, was well integrated into Delphine's inquest. Four of these key witnesses mentioned him, including Friar Giraud, Bertranda Bartomieua, Alazays Mesellano, and Bishop Philippe Cabassole.

But this comfort with Franciscans and expressions of poverty did not extend to Friar Giraud for these key witnesses. A look at Friar Giraud and the context of this time might give us a clue as to why. The inquest identifies Friar Giraud as a Franciscan *converso*. In the simplest definition, this was a lay person who closely associated himself or herself with the Franciscan Order.[51] But this simple definition obscures the complex status that *conversi* held, whether to the Friars Minor or another monastic order. By the mid-thirteenth century, *conversi* were ideally supposed "to promise to give one's self and all one's possessions to an ecclesiastical institution."[52] They should wear a habit and follow a monastic rule. These guidelines were set up, in part, to limit the number of laity who claimed *conversi* status to avoid certain taxes, duties, or legal punishment. They were also set up to limit the numbers of poor, uneducated laypeople who joined an ecclesiastical institution for better food but were perceived by some clergy to contribute little to running the religious institution.[53]

Friar Giraud does not obviously fit either of these groups. From the people he named in his testimony, we see that he moved in the same circles as powerful and influential Franciscans, including Friar Francis Meyronne, who was an important figure in the court of King Robert of Naples; Friar Pastor of Serraescuderio, who became a cardinal in 1350; and Friar Guilhem Farineri of Gorde, the minister general of the Franciscan order who became a cardinal in 1356.[54] This does not suggest he was poor or uneducated. He also lived in the Franciscan house in Apt after Delphine returned there in the 1340s, and he transferred to the Franciscan house in Avignon the year she died. Living in the Franciscan house suggests he was committed to the ideals of the order and not just trying to avoid taxes or duties.

---

[51] For an overview of *conversi*, see Duane Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 368–90.

[52] Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi, and the Christian Life," 373.

[53] Osheim, "Conversion, Conversi, and the Christian Life," 373–76.

[54] Patrick Nold, "A Servant of Two Masters: Some Biographical Notes on Mendicants at the Court(s) of Robert of Anjou and John XXII in Avignon, 1319–1324," *Micrologus* 31 (2023): 81–106. Sylvain Piron, "Les studia franciscains de Provence et d'Aquitaine (1275–1335)," in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at the Papal and Royal Courts*, eds. Kent Emery, William Courtenay, and Stephen Metzger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 303–58. Pierre Péano, "Ministres provinciaux de Provence et Spirituels," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 10 (1975): 41–65.

So why might this *converso* be problematic? As a *converso*, he would have had limited integration into whichever Franciscan house he lived in, but he also would have had unclear freedoms. He may have been able to leave, engage in a profession, or behave more like a layperson than other friars. This ambiguous position may have made others uncomfortable.

More importantly, however, Friar Giraud was most active in Delphine's life during her time in Naples, when Queen Sanxia of Naples's brother Philip of Majorca was residing there.[55] Philip of Majorca was a complex political and religious figure. He had joined the Dominican Order but then left it to enter the Franciscan Third Order.[56] He was in some ways like a Franciscan *converso*, similarly to Friar Giraud, with more flexibility than other Franciscans. This flexibility allowed him to pursue his political duties in Majorca, including ruling during his nephew's minority from 1324 to 1329. During this time, he developed strong ties to the Spiritual Franciscans, including Friar Angelo Clareno. Both men sparred actively and publicly with Pope John XXII regarding issues of Christ's poverty and the obedience that Franciscan friars owed their custodians and ultimately the pope.[57] In 1329 both men moved to Naples into Queen Sanxia's court.[58] André Vauchez argues that Delphine had contact with them and supported them. As part of Delphine's entourage at the time, Friar Giraud may have known them as well.[59]

Friar Giraud and his *converso* status, therefore, represented a fraught moment when Franciscan poverty was a deeply contested issue, so contested in fact that four Franciscans were burned at the stake in Marseille for their refusal to follow their custodians' leadership with regard to expressions of poverty.[60] Pope John XXII put himself at the center of the obedience debate. Not only did he write several bulls that forced the transformation of Franciscan practice, but he also appointed friars favourable to his position as inquisitors, custodians of contentious Franciscan houses, and as bishops in potentially problematic places.

---

[55] David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 252.

[56] Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 252. As Burr points out, many members of Philip's family also left their political roles to enter monastic houses, including his grandfather and brother.

[57] Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 251–53.

[58] Kelly, "King Robert of Naples," 41–80.

[59] Vauchez, *The Laity*, 78–81. Vauchez, "Entre la Provence," 93–96.

[60] Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 204–6.

One of those places may have been Apt, where Delphine lived for many years and where most of the witnesses in her inquest were questioned.[61] The bishop of Apt from 1332 to 1336 was Friar Guilhem d'Astre, one of Pope John XXII's most active Franciscan supporters. Before becoming bishop of Apt, he had been custodian of the contentious Franciscan house in Narbonne and inquisitor of Provence based in Avignon.[62] In each place – Narbonne, Avignon, and Apt – he supported Pope John XXII's limits on Franciscan expressions of poverty, friars' ability to resist their superiors, and ultimately the change in concepts of ownership of property that Pope John XXII enacted. Holly Grieco considers Pope John XXII's granting of the bishopric of Apt to be an honor for Guilhem d'Astre.[63] But d'Astre may also have seen Apt as a place to watch and reform, since as an inquisitor he had heard testimony about heretics in Apt from the beguin Bernard Maury.[64] As bishop, Friar Guilhem would have influenced the Franciscan house as well as the rest of the inhabitants of the diocese. Delphine's vow of poverty in 1333, her subsequent lived practice of poverty, and the fact that she was not cloistered and acted with the freedom of a *converso* may have been especially problematic in Apt in light of the actions of Pope John XXII against Spiritual Franciscans.[65]

It is possible both Friar Guilhem d'Astre and Delphine briefly lived in Apt in 1336, although no witnesses mentioned this.[66] But even if their time together in Apt was limited, his presence as bishop would have shaped the atmosphere of that town even after he died. It may explain some of the elaborate attempts by witnesses to link Delphine to acceptable Franciscans, like Friar Francis Meyronne, and control rumors of her links to potentially problematic Franciscans. For example, multiple witnesses testified to Article 37, which described Delphine conversing with Friar Francis Meyronne about his doubts of conscience.[67] Witnesses also described her interactions with Spiritual Franciscans in ways that would make them acceptable to the papacy. She was described as correcting Friar Ubertino de Casale and reporting heretical Franciscans to the Inquisition in Provence.[68] One witness, a priest in Apt named Aycard Bot, even described how he confronted Delphine after hearing from Friar Bertran Jusbert that she was speaking inappropriately about poverty. When Aycard listened to her, however, he realized she was saying only "words of God," and he left her presence consoled.[69]

---

[61] For attitudes about the Franciscan house in Apt, see Chiffoleau, *La comtabilité de l'au-dela*, 260.

[62] For his time as custodian of Narbonne, see Holly Grieco, *A Dilemma of Obedience and Authority: The Franciscan Inquisition and Franciscan Inquisitors in Provence, 1235–1340*, PhD dissertation (Princeton: Princeton University, 2004), 88–89; and Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 169. For his time as inquisitor, See Grieco, *A Dilemma of Obedience*, 89–91.

[63] Grieco, *A Dilemma of Obedience*, 91.

[64] In the heresy inquest testimony of Bernard Maury, he refers to meeting Cathars in Apt. Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza* (Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituo, 1959), 343–44. For beguin activity in Apt, see Louisa Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 89–91.

[65] André Vauchez makes the further argument that Delphine's chaste marriage may have looked to some like Cathar practice. See Vauchez, "Elzéar et Dauphine de Sabran," 156–58.

[66] Cambell, *Enquête*, 604.

No one in Delphine's inquest presented Friar Giraud Raybaud as a problematic Franciscan. And he was allowed to testify in her inquest. But the silence about him from key witnesses suggests hesitation and potential disassociation from a Franciscan *converso* active in Naples during a difficult time for the Franciscan Order.

4 Conclusion: Delphine's Deathbed Confession

Historians who have studied Countess Delphine de Puimichel's canonization inquest have pointed out the importance of these six witnesses, especially Bertranda Bartomieua and Friar Giraud Raybaud. These witnesses give us details of Delphine's life in Naples, Nice, Apt, and Avignon and reveal the interconnected groups that formed around the holy woman. Historians, especially André Vauchez, have also considered the influence of the Spiritual Franciscan movement on Delphine's life and canonization.

Network visualization has allowed us to bring these two important research threads together. First, the visualizations reveal these witnesses in relation to each other in ways that other historians did not fully explore. The digital tool Gephi helps show which people these key witnesses felt comfortable naming in the inquest, and at least one person they did not choose to name. The names and stories of family members and important observers of Delphine's sanctity who could not testify brought into the inquest missing voices which might easily have been lost. And the relationships among these key witnesses, revealed as they named each other and important missing witnesses, shows how people could cross boundaries of status and sex to discuss their beloved holy woman. They saw and spoke to each other at important events in Delphine's life and told the papal commissioners this in 1363.

---

[67] It is important to point out, however, that most witnesses who addressed this miracle said only that they had heard about Friar Francis Meyronne. Bishop Philippe Cabassole was one of the few witnesses who testified to speaking with the famous Franciscan. See Archambeau, *Souls under Siege*, 158–59.

[68] For her meeting with Friar Ubertino de Casale, see Cambell, *Enquête*, 225–26. This is the testimony of Friar Bertran Jusbert. See Vauchez, "Entre la Provence," 98. For her denunciation of Spiritual Franciscans to the inquisitor of Provence, see Cambell, *Enquête*, 253–54. This is the testimony of Master Durand Andree. See also Vauchez, "Entre la Provence," 97.

[69] Cambell, *Enquête*, 298–99, "verba Dei." See also Amargier, "Dauphine de Puimichel," 116–17.

But the failure of these witnesses to mention Friar Giraud Raybaud, who had spent decades in Delphine's entourage with witnesses like Bertranda Bartomieua, suggests a continuing worry shared by witnesses about Delphine's interactions with the Spiritual Franciscans. The testimony of Master Durand Andree about Delphine's deathbed confession stated these fears directly. Master Durand begged Delphine to make a last confession, saying, "Lady, I believe and I know you to have been the most Christian woman; but on account of many adversaries that could in the future come to be jealous and hostile, it seems to me it [Delphine's confession] ought to be asserted."[70] Eventually Delphine assented and the bishop of Apt, Elzéar de Ponteves, came to hear her confession.

According to Master Durand, however, before her confession to Bishop Elzéar, she made this statement about her relationship to heresy:

> I wish that you know and all know [that] at no time [was] anything knowingly thought or said by me that could cause to overflow in me into a loss of faith and of the Roman Church; I have been obedient continuously to the said holy church of Rome [until] the death ordained for me, nor in any article of faith has my belief been undecided; but I have always shunned heretics, schismatics and those holding their own views and those suspect in faith.[71]

---

[70] Cambell, *Enquête*, 272. "Domina, credo et scio vos fore christianissimam; sed propter multa sinistra que possent in futurum ab emulis et invidis suboriri, videtur michi fore dicendum."

[71] Cambell, *Enquête*, 272. "Volo quod sciatis et sciant omnes nunquam me aliquid scienter dixisse seu cogitasse quod in dispendium fidei et ecclesie Romane posset redundare in me; fui obediens usque ad mortem ordinacioni dicte sancte ecclesie Romane, nec in aliquo articulorum fidei me credens hesitasse; sed semper hereticos, scismaticos et oppinantes et suspectos in fide evitavi." For a view of this statement in relation to other canonization inquests, see Pierre-André Sigal, "La mort des saints dans les Vies et les procès de canonisation du midi de la France (XI^{e}–XIV^{e} siècle)" *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 33 (1998): 23–26.

Her statement of her relationship to the church of Rome, presented as direct speech by Master Durand to the papal commissioners, speaks loudly of his fear for her postmortem reputation. As someone who had come to Apt from the diocese of Maguelone near Montpellier, he was likely aware of the actions taken against Spiritual Franciscans and beguins who were captured in that region in 1325. Therefore, Master Durand knew how reputations could be dismantled by hostile adversaries.[72] He was one of many witnesses who seemed aware that Delphine's sometimes extreme practice of poverty, which included begging in the street, and her chaste marriage could be misconstrued as heretical behavior.

His account of her words helps us see why witnesses like Bertranda Bartomieua might not mention a Franciscan *converso* in her testimony, even if she had known him for decades and even if he was a witness in the canonization inquest. Friar Giraud Raybaud might claim to know those close to Delphine, but their silence kept him outside their stories of Delphine. These key witnesses felt comfortable speaking of their families and even Delphine's relative of questionable status, but about Friar Giraud they remained silent.

---

[72] Burnham, *So Great a Light*, 95–106. There was a significant beguin and Spiritual Franciscan presence in Montpellier and Philip of Majorca had a house there that was known to host supporters of extreme asceticism and the Spiritual Franciscans.

CHAPTER 7

Disability, Miracle, and Sainthood in Early Fourteenth-Century Canonization Dossiers

Adelheid Russenberger

1 Introduction

In 1308, Berenguaria Oliveira of Marseille, about thirty years of age, testified before the commissioners at the inquiry into the sanctity of Louis of Toulouse in Marseille.[1] She told them how she had fallen ill with a fever and lost all sight from her right eye and most of the sight from her left. A month later a woman and her husband advised Berenguaria to make a vow to blessed Louis, who was known to perform miracles. Berenguaria was initially reluctant, as she had already asked many of the saints in paradise but to no avail. But she had faith in blessed Louis, and she knelt and prostrated herself on the ground, crying and promising to bring him a pair of wax eyes and a candle if he gave her health and returned her sight. When she stood up, she found that she could see fully and perfectly.

The commissioners asked her when this had happened, and who was there when she made this vow; she replied that it occurred the year after the body of the blessed Louis was entombed in the church of the Friars Minor in Marseille, and that the woman who had persuaded her to make a vow to the blessed Louis was there. They asked her whether she believed that she regained her sight by the sanctity and merits of the blessed Louis, and whether it was widely claimed that the blessed Louis was a saint and that God made miracles through him; she said yes. Finally, the commissioners asked if she had been instructed or informed by someone else, or had made this account in response to pleas or bribes, or out of fear or love. She denied this and said that she had told the truth. Fifty-seven other healing miracles were recorded at the canonization inquest of Louis of Toulouse. A year earlier, similar questions had been asked of people in London and Hereford, who claimed to have been cured by the merits of

---

[1] *Processus canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O. F. M. episcopi Tolosani*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, Analecta Franciscana, Tomus VII (Florence: Quaracchi, 1951), 149–50.

© ADELHEID RUSSENBERGER, 2025 | DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_009

Thomas Cantilupe, formerly bishop of Hereford;[2] seventeen years later, in 1325, people from the Marches of Ancona were called to testify to miracles attributed to Nicholas of Tolentino.[3]

The witness accounts of miracles recorded in canonization dossiers at these and other canonization inquests have been used to explore different aspects of medieval society.[4] They provide a rare insight into daily life in the medieval period, particularly for sections of society that are frequently underrepresented in written records. Many studies have used the incidental background details and recollections of social interactions to explore themes of gender, age, childhood, and disability, while other historians have focused on the procedural details of different inquests to explore the different political, clerical, and juridical concerns underlying the inquest.[5] By examining the different concerns and procedures of the commissioners alongside an analysis of the witnesses responses with regard to miraculous healing from physical and sensory disabilities, canonization dossiers can be used to explore how both the commissioners and the inquest's witnesses understood matters of disability, ability, miracle, and sainthood, and how their perceptions shaped their questions and responses.

The commissioners aimed to collect an accurate, reliable, and relevant dossier of evidence that would allow curial theologians to determine the level of sanctity of the candidate for canonization.[6] The framework for the questions was determined before the inquest began and, in relation to miraculous healing, aimed to produce verifiable evidence that an individual had recovered from an illness or impairment, and that this recovery could only have been through the miraculous divine intervention by the merits of the purported saint. The witnesses sought to tell their story of the events as they had experienced them and how they understood illness, impairment, saints, and miracles, while persuading the commissioners of their story's veracity. The witnesses' accounts were to an extent limited by the questions they were asked, but they could choose to expand or add details to their answer beyond what a question asked of them. The witnesses' account may often have been stories that they had told and retold and heard others tell and retell multiple times, potentially creating a more communal rather than individual memory of the events described. However, this does not diminish the value of the witnesses' accounts as a source for lay understandings of disability and miracle: the communal discussions and retellings of miraculous events were part of how an individual witness understood the events they saw and experienced, rather than a detraction from them.

---

[2] Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4015.

[3] *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, ed. Nicola Occhioni (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1984). On Nicholas's hearings, see also the chapter by Didier Lett in this volume.

[4] See, for instance, Jenni Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages: Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Nicole Archambeau, "Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85.4 (2011); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Monica H. Green and Daniel Lord Smail, "The Trial of Floreta d'Ays (1403): Jews, Christians, and Obstetrics in Later Medieval Marseille," *Journal of Medieval History* 34.2 (2008): 185–211; Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Ronald Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

[5] Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Choosing Miracles for Vincent Ferrer," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 75–104; Letizia Pellegrini, "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonisation Process of Bernardin of Siena," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 105–29.

2 The dossiers of Thomas Cantilupe, Louis of Toulouse, and Nicholas of Tolentino

The nature of the canonization dossier presents some particular challenges when attempting to draw out the (learned) papal commissioners' and the (predominantly lay) witnesses' perceptions of disability and miraculous healing. The range of experiences of disability found within canonization dossiers is limited to the experiences of those who sought and received a healing miracle. Canonization dossiers do not typically include the frustration or disappointment of people who sought healing but whose prayers went unanswered, or those who did not consider their impairment to be sufficiently disabling to warrant prayers and pilgrimage. The witnesses' accounts, while providing some evidence for the everyday experiences of disabled people and their interactions with family, friends, or neighbors, are intended to demonstrate the need for healing and the miraculous nature of their cure. Consequently, many accounts prioritize moments of difficulty or disadvantage and the experience of being healed over experiences of living with, adapting to, and accommodating impairments.

---

[6] Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 43–44.

The miracles which are attested to in the canonization dossiers are further limited by the choices made by the petitioners, procurators, and commissioners of the canonization process. The witnesses called to testify by the procurators and commissioners were usually chosen to fulfill the particular needs of the inquiry; they prioritized witnesses who they considered to be more trustworthy and who could help create a certain image of the proposed saint. Male and/or wealthier witnesses were often viewed as more reliable witnesses for trials, leading in some cases to a gender imbalance in the chosen witnesses.[7] Witnesses could be chosen to help reinforce certain aspects of a saint's identity, based on their ability to testify to specific aspects of the saint's life or particular types of miracle attributed to them. The importance of a saint to their followers may not directly map onto the importance of the saint to those petitioning for their canonization.[8]

This essay focuses on three early fourteenth-century canonization dossiers, those of St. Louis of Toulouse,[9] St. Thomas Cantilupe,[10] and St. Nicholas of Tolentino.[11] The earliest canonization dossier, that of Thomas Cantilupe, is considerably more notarial in its tone and includes details of the practicalities of a judicial process.[12] The dossier included the testimonies of 205 witnesses from London and Hereford; the testimonies from each geographical area are roughly divided into two sections, with the first focusing on Thomas Cantilupe's life and the second on miracles attributed to him, albeit with some overlap when witnesses to his life also testified to miracles.[13] The witnesses' accounts in the second section are ordered by miracle. The 195 depositions in the dossier of Louis of Toulouse are similarly divided into two sections, the first on his life and the second on his miracles. The witness testimonies to his miracles are largely ordered by each miracle, aside from occasional testimonies where the witness wished to testify to multiple cases.[14] By contrast, the depositions from 365 witnesses in the canonization dossier of Nicholas of Tolentino are less clearly ordered. There is no separation between the witnesses testifying to his life and those testifying to his miracles, with many witnesses testifying to both. The depositions related to each miracle are not necessarily collected together, and in some cases witnesses testifying to the same miracle are recorded a substantial distance apart in the final dossier.[15]

---

[7] Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life*, 24–25, 29–30, 38.

[8] Aviad Kleinberg has argued that formal canonization had little influence on the popular appeal of particular saints or the development of saint cults. "Canonization without a Canon," in *Medieval Canonization Processes: Legal and Religious Aspects*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004) 7–18. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala note that the miracle registers from the tombs of Thomas Cantilupe and Louis of Toulouse record a wider range of miracles than are found in their respective canonization dossiers, including several related to the miraculous healing of animals. "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 89.

[9] *Processus Canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 149. The most comprehensive study of the canonization of St. Louis of Toulouse remains Margaret Toynbee's monograph, first published in 1929: *St Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929). Nicole Archambeau has more recently considered the impetus to canonize Louis of Toulouse in the context of political changes in fourteenth-century Provence: "Protection Miracles as Evidence for the Shifting Political Landscape of Fourteenth Century Provence" in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 285–89; Michael Goodich has looked at the significance of miracles based on doubt or unbelief in the framing of Louis of Toulouse as a suitable saint for countering unbelief: *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) 32, 52–55. André Vauchez examined the development of Louis of Toulouse's cult in the context of the increased popularity of mendicant saints, Angevin political ambitions, and a crisis in perceptions of the episcopacy in the early fourteenth century: *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 226–28, 344–46.

[10] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015.

The specific questions or "articles" (*articuli*) to be asked by the commissioners about the saint's life, character, and miracles were usually written by the proctors prior to the start of the inquest. These articles were recorded at the start of the canonization dossiers of Louis of Toulouse, Thomas Cantilupe, and Nicholas of Tolentino, and they covered the life and deeds of the purported saint, their *fama*, and the miracles attributed to them, although the precise format and level of detail vary between each dossier. Fifty-four separate articles were included regarding the life of Louis of Toulouse, many of which specified what Louis of Toulouse was reported to have said, the dates events occurred, or the places he went to and people he saw.[16] By contrast, the articles regarding his posthumous public reputation and the miracles attributed to him are extremely brief.[17] The miracles are dealt with as topics to be asked about "in general," with a list of twenty-five different conditions and impairments ranging from the resuscitation of the dead to kidney stones, ruptures, and dangerous births.

---

[11] *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*.

[12] Christian Krötzl suggests that the strict adherence to judicial protocols was due to the influence of one of the commissioners, Guillaume Durand the Younger, bishop of Mende, whose uncle and predecessor, Guillaume Durante the Elder, was a noted canonist whose principal work, *Speculum iudiciale*, focused on legal procedure. "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zur Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen," *Hagiographica* 5 (1998): 140.

[13] See, for instance, Hugo le Barber, BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015 fols. 18r–29r.

[14] See, for instance, Bertrandus Massolhi, *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 122–24.

[15] See, for instance, testimonies to Mathiolus Angeli's regained ability to walk, *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 215–16, 270–71.

[16] *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 11–19.

The articles regarding the life, deeds, and miracles of Nicholas of Tolentino begin with a general article confirming that the witness recalled the memory of Nicholas of Tolentino, whether during his life or the events and miracles that occurred after his death.[18] The list of potential miracles is brief but has a distinctly biblical tone, stating that Nicholas of Tolentino's miracles included "illuminating the blind and freeing the captive, offering hearing to the deaf and walking to the lame."[19] The following twenty-two articles cover the life and deeds of Nicholas in a similar high level of detail as the articles in the dossier of Louis of Toulouse, with just one article covering whether these events occurred in his life and were now part of his current public reputation.

The canonization dossier of Thomas Cantilupe lacks detailed articles tailored to his life, character, and miracles. The procurator, Henricus de Schorne, declared at the start of the inquest that he had been advised by "learned men" from Hereford's Cathedral Chapter not to draw up a set of articles but to leave it to the commissioners to choose how to question the witnesses.[20] The subsequent articles are fairly generalized. Four main articles cover Thomas Cantilupe's life and deeds, reputation, attributed miracles, and popular knowledge of and devotion to him, with further items for clarification under each article.[21] A written record of the *Interrogatorium*, a standard set of questions to be used by commissioners to gauge the validity of the testimony of the witness, is integrated into the articles. The *Interrogatorium* was a standard part of inquisitorial procedure and was included in the papal bull issued at the start of the canonization process.[22] The inclusion of the *Interrogatorium* in Thomas

---

[17] *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 19–20.

[18] *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 17–21.

[19] "illuminando … cecos et liberando captivos, surdis auditum et claudis gressum prebendo" *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 17; see also: Matt. 11:5, Luke 7:22, Isaiah 35:5. For biblical precedents to medieval miracles, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [1977]), 49–50; Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 8–12.

[20] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015 fol. 3v.

[21] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 4r–5r.

[22] Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 17; Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability*, 24–25.

Cantilupe's dossier is likely to be due to its strong notarial tone;[23] the dossiers of Louis of Toulouse and Nicholas of Tolentino lack similar original notarial material. However, the records of witness accounts of miraculous healing in these dossiers suggest that these questions from the *Interrogatorium* were being asked.

According to the items listed under the articles on the miracles of Thomas Cantilupe, the witnesses should be asked whether they knew the cause of the miracle; whether it was above or against nature; the words used; whether any herbs, stones, or other natural or medicinal things, or any incantations or superstitions were used; whether the miracle led to an increase in faith or devotion; the age, condition, and origin of the person in whom the miracle occurred; whether they knew the person in which the miracle occurred and for how long they had been healthy; how long the person had been ill or infirm, the nature of the illness or infirmity, and how the witness knew that they were ill or infirm; whether the person was completely cured and healthy after the miracle occurred, how long it took them to recover, and whether the witness saw them in this state of health; when the miracle was said to have occurred and who was present; and how much time passed between the miracle occurring and it becoming publicly known to have occurred. The witness statements recorded in the dossier suggest that most of this information was obtained from each witness, although each individual question was only restated if the witness gave a "yes" or "no" answer. Occasionally the witness is asked for more details about the nature of the miracle beneficiary's disability, but this is the exception rather than the norm.[24]

Similar questions were asked of the witnesses by the commissioners at the inquests of Louis of Toulouse and Nicholas of Tolentino. Ferrarius Salvani of the city of Carpentras was questioned about how Louis of Toulouse caused his miraculous recovery from severe illness that had caused deep holes to form in his legs, he stated the length of time the illness had lasted, described how his wife had persuaded him to make a vow to Louis and a pilgrimage to his tomb, and the time it took for his legs to heal. He was then "Asked how long he had been overcome by the said illness," "what time … he went to the tomb of the Blessed Louis," and "which persons knew about the said infirmity." He then stated that he "believed and firmly held that he was cured and liberated from this illness by the invocation and merits of the Blessed Louis," before being "Asked if it was publicly said and rumoured in the city of Carpentras and the surrounding areas that God, due to the good and holy life that the Blessed

---

[23] Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher."

[24] See, for instance, BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 171v, 173r.

Louis had and held, performed and performs many miracles" and "if he had been instructed or informed by anyone to make this deposition."[25]

After Domina Gualterucia, wife of Thomas Ufreducius of Santo Genesio, had briefly described her miraculous recovery of hearing due to the merits of Nicholas of Tolentino, she stated how she had made a vow to Nicholas of Tolentino and the immediacy with which the miracle occurred, details that occur in other witness accounts and are sometimes phrased as questions asked by the commissioners. Gualterucia was then "Asked how long ago the miracle occurred … who was present … in what place the miracle occurred … at whose invocation the miracle occurred and what words were used … for how long she had had the said infirmity before the said miracle" and "how long she had been healthy after the said miracle."[26] Iacobus Gentiles Gaydani, of Santo Angelo, and his wife, Angelica, were asked similar questions regarding the incurable swellings and abscesses around his son's eyes.[27] Angelica was "Asked if her faith and conscience affirm that God performed the said miracle in the said person of her son, in that He healed him of the said infirmity of the eyes, by the life, prayers, and merits of the aforesaid Brother Nicholas";[28] her husband made a similar statement. Only some of the witnesses at the inquest into the sanctity of Nicholas of Tolentino appear to have been asked this same question, suggesting that it was either asked or recorded inconsistently.[29] Unlike the canonization dossiers to Louis of Toulouse and Thomas Cantilupe, the commissioners did not regularly ask whether the witness had been taught, bribed, or otherwise persuaded to make their particular statement. Although all the commissioners were interested in the means by which a vow was made to the saint in question, and whether the witness believed the miracle to be due to the merits of this saint, only the commissioners into the sanctity of Thomas Cantilupe specifically asked whether other natural, human, or other superstitious methods had been used to attempt to heal the miracle beneficiary.

---

[25] "Interrogatus de tempore quo supervenit sibi dicta infirmas"; "Interrogatus quo tempore venit … ad tumulum beati Ludovici [et] de personis que sciebant dictam infirmitatem"; "credit et tenet pro firmo quod per invocacionem et merita beati Ludovici fuit a dicto morbo curatus et liberatus. Interrogatus si est fama et vox publica in dicta civitate Carpentoratensi de hoc et eciam in locis circumvicinis quod Deus, propter bonam et sanctam vitam quam habuit et tenuit beatus Ludovicus, faciat et fecerit multa miracula"; "Interrogatus si instructus vel informatus a quoquam ita deposuerit" *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 227–28.

[26] "Interrogata quantum tempus est quod contigit sibi dictum miraculum"; "Interrogata de presentibus"; "Interrogata in quo loco fuit factum dictum miraculum"; "Interrogata ad cuius invocationem fuit factum dictum miraculum et quibus verbis interpositis"; "Interrogata quanto tempore habuit dictam infirmitatem ante dictum miraculum"; Interrogata quanto tempore fuit sana post dictum miraculum" *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 290–91.

[27] *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 598–600.

[28] "Interrogata si fides et conscientia sua est quod Deus fecerit dictum miraculum in persona dicti filii sui, in eo quod sanavit ipsum de dicta infirmitate oculorum, vita, precibus et meritis quondam fratris Nicolay iam dicti" *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione de San Nicola da Tolentino*, 600.

[29] See, for instance, *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 380–81.

While the articles regarding the life and deeds are detailed and tailored to each candidate for sainthood, the articles regarding their public reputation and miracles are far more generic: the qualities of miracles were understood to be the same for each saint. Because none of the articles in these inquests asked witnesses about specific healing miracles, the witnesses were given the freedom to recount their experiences of miracle largely as they wished, followed by questions designed to elicit evidence of the miraculous quality of the event. The witnesses were required to provide information on how a vow was made, who by, and in the case of the inquest into Nicholas of Tolentino, precisely what words were used. They were frequently asked to affirm their belief that the miracle occurred due to the saint in question, with the commissioners responsible for the inquest into Thomas Cantilupe asking whether any other healing method could have contributed to the cure. Witnesses were asked how long a severe illness or health condition had lasted, and the time it took for the miracle to occur after a vow had been made, presumably to judge the severity of the condition and its likely incurability, and how strong the association between the vow and the miraculous cure was. The commissioners needed evidence that the supposed miracle was unequivocally supranatural and occurred without any human intervention, and could be directly linked to the purported saint. If the disabling illness or health condition was less serious, had a weaker link to the saint, could have been healed by other means, or the recovery was short-lived, the supposed miracle became questionable.

The commissioners' interest in the details of the supposed miracle is matched by their interest in the popular reputation (*fama publica*) surrounding the candidate for sainthood. Witnesses were commonly asked in detail about "what was publicly said and rumoured" about the saint, and their answers frequently link the sanctity of the saint to their ability to perform miracles. The commissioners investigating the sanctity of Thomas Cantilupe were particularly thorough. John of Leominster testified to miracles regarding Thomas Cantilupe, and affirmed that it was "the common opinion in the city and diocese of Hereford and the surrounding area and even in Flanders … that the said Lord Thomas is holy and that God through him as through a saint works miracles."[30] He was then asked how he knew this, and he replied that he "heard this commonly reported by people in so many places and so many times that he could not express it, and that people who were governed by infirmities measured themselves to the said Saint Thomas, and they went on a pilgrimage to him at the Church of Hereford."[31] The commissioners continued to ask him what he meant by *fama publica*, and how he knew that they believed Thomas Cantilupe to be holy and that God had worked miracles through him. John replied that *fama publica* was "the good reputation of people, but generally it is the opinion that people commonly believe" and that he knew Thomas Cantilupe was a saint "because people say … that they are miraculously cured of their infirmities through him."[32] John Alkyn, another witness, was asked whether the miracle he attested to was publicly ascribed to Thomas Cantilupe, and both at the time and now, and whether those who knew and saw the miracle were strengthened in their faith and devotion and praised and glorified God as a result.[33]

The interest in *fama publica* indicates that, despite the development of a centralized canonization process across the thirteenth century, local communal acclaim remained a key part of the creation or recognition of a saint. The existence of *fama publica* was prerequisite for the opening of a canonization process, and Christian Krötzl has suggested that the detailed and persistent questioning of witnesses regarding *fama* was due to its importance as a "yardstick" for holiness: the strength of belief across a community and a geographical area that this person was a saint was more readily quantified than any theological interpretation of the miraculous event itself.[34] The questions asked by the commissioners investigating the sainthood of Thomas Cantilupe and the answers given provide additional theological reasoning for the importance of popular belief. The witnesses were asked whether the miracles attributed to Thomas Cantilupe strengthened the faith of those who saw or heard of it, and if they led them to praise and glorify God. If part of the work of saints and the purpose of miracles was to bring the faithful closer to God, then the faith-affirming impact and widespread belief in their sanctity supported this.

---

[30] "communis oppinio in civitate et dyocesis herefordis et locis circumvicinis et eciam in flandria … quod dictus dominus Thomus sit sanctus et quod deus pro eo sicut pro sancto miracula operatur." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 92r.

[31] "Respondit quod audivit hoc communiter referri a gentibus a tot tantis tociens et in tot locis quod nesciret exprimere et quod gentes gubernerantur infirmitatibus et faciunt se mensurari ad dictum sanctum thomim et promodo perigrinatur ad eum apud ecclesiam herefordis." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 92r.

[32] "quod gentes … dicunt … quod miraculose curantur a suis infirmitatibus per eum." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 92r.

[33] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 183v.

[34] Christian Krötzl, "Fama Sanctitatis: die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft," in Klaniczay, *Medieval Canonization Processes*, 244.

3 Testifying about Disability and Miraculous Healing

In contrast to the focused questions on the supposed miracle, questions regarding the disabling illness or health condition are far broader. Witnesses are required to state the beneficiary's disability and its duration before the miracle occurred, and in most cases commissioners accepted the witnesses' judgment that the miracle beneficiary was previously impaired or had an incurable condition and then significantly recovered. This suggests that unlike miracles, the commissioners were generally convinced that witnesses could correctly identify an impairment or incurable illness by sight, without any specialist knowledge. Further questioning into the extent of a disability was only required in more unusual cases. Philip Le Longe was questioned at the inquest into the sanctity of Thomas Cantilupe regarding the miraculous cure of Juliana Kock, who had a mobility impairment and was unable to walk. Philip was asked whether he believed that Juliana "could straighten her back and sit upright," whether he himself "had palpated the feet, thighs, limbs or hips of the said Juliana," and whether "the said feet or legs were swollen or dried out … and the same regarding the knees and hips."[35] This level of detailed questioning is unusual, and could be because Juliana Kock had been healed twice: the first time she was healed at the tomb of Thomas Cantilupe; she had been carried there in her neighbor's basket and left the basket at the tomb. Her neighbor asked her to return the basket, and upon doing so Juliana became impaired again. She returned the basket to the tomb and was healed a second time. Punitive impairments from a saint were not unheard of, but Juliana's fluctuation between disability and ability appears to have been sufficiently unusual to warrant further inquiry from the commissioners.

Some witnesses were able to show the commissioners scars or marks left by their prior disability. John de Hammel was miraculously cured of a hump on his back by Thomas Cantilupe, leaving only raised or reddened skin where it had been. This feature was included in the rubric summarizing the purported miracle, and witnesses were questioned as to whether they had seen any mark from where the hump had been.[36] Alice de Lonsdale bore similar signs of her previous impairment after the miraculous healing of her paralyzed legs by Thomas Cantilupe. Her father told the commissioners that she still limped when she walked, regardless of whether she used a stick. When Alice herself came to testify, the notaries noted that she was still unable to put her feet directly on the ground and limped whether she walked with or without the help of a stick.[37] The verification of claims that a prior impairment or condition still left a mark does not appear to have diminished the miraculous nature of a cure; instead, it seems that the commissioners were interested primarily in ensuring that the different witnesses' accounts were consistent with each other.

---

[35] "poterat erigere dorsum et sedere recta"; "palpavierat pedes tibias genua vel coxas dicte Juliana"; "dicti pedes et tibie erant inflata vel aridi … et idem de genibus et de coxis." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 171v.

There is no implication that a miracle had to return an individual to an unmarked or "normative" state for them to be deemed no longer disabled, which reflects the ambiguous and nonbinary medieval understanding of health and ill health or impairment and its focus on functionality.[38] If an individual was able to undertake the tasks, responsibilities, and behaviors expected of someone in their social position, then they were typically seen as healthy and unimpaired. The ambiguity of the healed body contrasts with the commissioners' interest in the length of time for which the individual remained in a healed state. For someone's recovery to be deemed complete and therefore miraculous, the longevity of substantial improvement in an individual's condition was a more important indicator of being healed than an objective level of physical capability.

The witnesses' statements were guided by the commissioners' questions, but the details and concerns of the witnesses, or moments when the witnesses went significantly beyond the requirements of the question, provide an insight into the perceptions of disability, healing, and sainthood by the (predominantly lay) communities around Toulouse, London, Hereford, and Tolentino. Their answers were intended to offer a truthful and plausible account for the commissioners, and in some cases they may have reflected a wider communal account of an individual's disability and miraculous recovery.

---

[36] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 184r.

[37] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 67v.

[38] Jenni Kuuliala, "Heavenly Healing of Failure of Faith? Partial Cures in Later Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, eds. Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 172–73.

The physical impairments that they attested to were wide-ranging: vision, hearing, and mobility impairments were common, but miracle healing was also sought for fistulas, gout, mutism, and bodily differences, such as severe swellings and warts. It is difficult to determine from the canonization inquests whether these particular physical conditions were seen to be more disabling, or whether the physical impairments found in canonization inquests are broadly representative of the range and relative proportions of physical impairments found in early fourteenth-century Europe. Canonization inquests overwhelmingly provide evidence for cases of physical impairment where the disabled person (or someone on their behalf) sought and received healing by divine intervention. They do not indicate the number of people who sought healing but whose prayers were left unanswered, the number who wished to seek healing but were unable to do so, or whether a significant number of disabled people simply did not seek a miraculous cure but instead found ways to adapt to and live with their disability.

Occasional passing comments from witnesses suggest that there were people who did not wish to or could not seek healing from a saint. John of Burton,[39] a young boy without a tongue who traveled around Hereford begging, had asked Thomas Cantilupe to give him a working tongue twice with limited success, and only returned a third time after being persuaded to do so by some villagers in Lodelaw.[40] If the villagers had not been so persuasive, it is likely that John would have remained mute and continued to communicate through signing. Alice de Lonsdale only traveled to Hereford from London after a group of women who saw her begging advised her to ask Thomas Cantilupe for help and were able to give her sufficient alms to purchase a wheelbarrow for her father to take her there.[41] If Alice's father had not received sufficient alms, she would have been unlikely to have reached Hereford and experienced a miraculous cure at the shrine. Alice spent three nights by the shrine accompanied by her stepmother, who was blind.[42] There is no suggestion that Alice's stepmother was at the shrine in the hope of being healed. No prayers or vows made for her are mentioned; Alice was sleeping with her head in her stepmother's lap, and her stepmother woke and asked Alice where she was going when Alice tried to stand and walk, suggesting that she was there as Alice's carer.[43] The accounts of John of Burton and Alice de Lonsdale's miracles indicates that not all disabled people wished to seek a miracle cure, and that the ability to seek a miracle cure was dependent on accessing the resources to do so.

---

[39] In the Cantilupe dossier, there are several witnesses testifying to a male youth miraculously regaining a tongue. The witnesses call him variously "John of Burton" or "Philip," but there are sufficient similarities between the accounts to suggest it is the same person, who had been given different names by different people in the area around Hereford. "John/Philip" does not testify himself, as he traveled to the Middle East shortly after being healed.

[40] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 90v.

[41] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 69r.

[42] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 66v.

Based on the witnesses' accounts of the experiences of disabled people who sought and received a miraculous cure, there is a general consensus that the conditions that constitute physical or sensory disability result in non-normative behaviors, and/or that the best way to describe a disabling condition is through these behaviors. In the canonization dossiers of Louis of Toulouse and Thomas Cantilupe, adults who are visually impaired are described as being led by the hand from place to place. Stephanus Blancardi, before he sought healing from Louis of Toulouse, "was led by the hand to table and to bed and to other places were he should go;"[44] Hugo le Barber described to the commissioners into the sanctity of Thomas Cantilupe how, after he had become blind after a piece of ash was caught in his eye, he was taken to church to listen to the mass by his sons, "who led him by the hand as a blind person is led."[45] John Alkyn told the same commissioners that he had known that Agnes de la Brock was blind, because he had seen her "being led to the church of St. Martin … as people who cannot see are led."[46]

Accounts of mutism and hearing impairments are rare across these three canonization inquests but share a similar focus on behavioral difference. Guillemus Iuliani testified to the hearing impairment and miraculous recovery of Anthonius Sparroni by the merits of Louis of Toulouse, and he explained how he knew Anthonius's hearing had been impaired because "he often met him as a neighbour, greeting him and in other ways, and the said Anthonius did not respond nor hear unless some signs were given in advance."[47] John of Burton similarly relied on signing to communicate due to mutism, prior to being cured by Thomas Cantilupe. John of Leominster told the papal commissioners that he knew a certain young boy (presumably John of Burton, although he knew him as "Philip") without a working tongue who begged in

---

43 BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 67r.

44 "et ducebatur per manum ad mensam et alia que debebat ire," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 152.

45 "qui ducebant hum ad manum siut ducitur cecus," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 27v.

46 "duci ad ecclesiam sancti martini … sicut ducuntur persone que non vident," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 227v.

47 "sepissime sicut vicino, et salutando et alio modo quando obiavit, ei loquebatur, et dictus Anthonius non respondebat nec audiebat nisi permissis signis aliquibus," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 156.

and around Hereford. Various people tried to persuade the boy to go to the Thomas Cantilupe's tomb, but "the said Philip extending his two fingers made a sign that he had done this twice, and being persuaded by the people who were there that he should return, he made a sign with a third finger that he would return there."[48]

People with mobility impairments were identified by their use of mobility aids, their reliance on others to move significant distances, or non-normative or absent movement. Mercatante Iohannis Adambi de Tholentino was traveling to Tolentino when he came across Mathiolus Angeli de Eugubio, who was lying in a cart "because he could not walk by himself unless he was pulled in that little cart with wheels."[49] He had not known Mathiolus prior to meeting him near Tolentino, but he told the commissioners that he had previously seen other people going to Tolentino in a little cart, implying that this was a well-known indicator of a mobility impairment.[50] Alice de Lonsdale relied on a similar wheeled cart or wheelbarrow to travel to Hereford,[51] and she had previously been carried around her father's neck when they begged around London,[52] or moved herself "not on her feet, but by dragging her body across the ground on her thigh, as she could in no way walk by her feet."[53] Dulcesa, the wife of Michael Bermundi from Marseille, was paralyzed after complications during the birth of her son and "could not help herself with her hands nor her feet nor her thighs, indeed she dragged a sheet over herself with her teeth when she needed or wanted to cover herself."[54]

The centrality of non-normative behaviors to the witnesses' perceptions of disability is highlighted by descriptions of no longer being disabled. Miracle beneficiaries are often described in terms of behaving "rightly" or in a manner similar to that of people with "good" or "healthy" bodies. Pelegrinus de Armino testified to Brother Angelus of Monte Rubiano's miraculous recovery of sight in one eye by the merits of Nicholas of Tolentino. He explained that he had wanted to verify that Brother Angelus was now able to see with his previously impaired eye, and he covered "the good eye … and questioned him regarding the figures painted in the said church; Brother Angelus replied just like a man who sees light well."[55] Similarly, John de Eton explained how Agnes de la Brock, once she had regained her sight at the tomb of Thomas Cantilupe, "saw to discern the diverse colors which were placed before her and to count the wax tapers appearing near said tomb."[56] After Dulcesa was miraculously cured of her paralysis, her husband, Michael Bermundi, and the midwife, Guillelma Alexandria, described how she stood "right and erect" and walked "healthy and upright."[57] Once John of Burton had received a "greatly beautiful and perfect" tongue from Thomas Cantilupe, Simon de Lodelawe heard him "speaking well and intelligible words in English and things in Welsh."[58]

---

[48] "et dictus Philipus ostendebat ad duos digitos duos faciebat signum quod bis fuerat et persuadentibus gentibus ad huc, quod rediret, fecit signum cum tercio digito quod ad huc reverteretur," BAV MS. Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 90v.

[49] "quia ambulare non poterai per so nisi traheretur per illam carrettam cum quibusdam rotulis," *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 215.

[50] *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 216.

[51] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 66v.

[52] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 65r.

[53] "non incedebat pedibus suis sed gradiebatur super femur suum trahendo corpus suum per terram … nec poterat aliquo modo ire pedibus suis," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 68v–69r.

[54] "ita quod de manibus nec de pedibus nec de femoribus non poterat se iuvare, immo cum dentibus trahebat pannos ad se quando indigebat et volebat se cooperire," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 165.

The witnesses' descriptions suggest that physical disabilities were characterized by visibly non-normative behaviors, which were typically shared by others with similar impairments and often led to a degree of dependency on others. By contrast, a person who was no longer disabled was usually someone who adopted normative behaviors, or behaved as a "healthy" person would. The emphasis on visual appearance may in part be due to the need to point to firm evidence of someone's prior disability for the commissioners, but it also suggests a communal aspect to the construction and recognition of disability. Someone is identified as disabled based on a how this individual's behavior matches a collective understanding of how other people with similar impairments behaved, and this understanding is shared and spread through the disabled person's interactions with their family, friends, and neighbours.

This shared, behavioral construction of disability was augmented by accounts of the emotional impact of an impairment for the disabled person and their wider community. Different witnesses described the experience of disability in emotive terms, or they identified particular emotions attached to the realities of living with disability. While the particular term used was determined by the papal scribe or notary, the consistency between the emotive terms and specific emotions used to describe the experience of disability suggests that the scribes' choices were reflective of the witnesses' accounts.

---

[55] "posuit supra oculum bonum … manum ipsius testis et … interrogabat de figuris in dicta ecclesia depictis: ipse frater Angelus respondebat sicut homo bene videns lumen," *Il Processo per la Canonizzazione di San Nicola da Tolentino*, 351.

[56] "videns discernere diversitatem colorum qui applicabantur ante eam et connumerare cereos prope dictum tumulum existentes," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 228v.

[57] "rectam et erectam,"; "sanam et recte gradientem," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 167, 168.

[58] "cum lingua pulcra magna et perfecta"; "audiente loquabantur bonum anglicum et intelligibile et res wallense," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 204v.

The experience of being disabled is often described in terms of being "overcome" by illness or having to "bear" or "carry" the impact of an impairment, often accompanied by feelings of grief, shame, or pain. Bertrandus Massolhi told the commissioners into the sanctity of Louis of Toulouse that he had been "seized" by a fever that "weakened and emptied" him for a year, after which he "walked with sticks for three months, and with great difficulty and was a heavy burden for him."[59] Dulcesa, the wife of Michael Bermundi of Marseille, told the same commissioners how she had become paralyzed and unable to leave her bed after her child was stillborn and a small piece of bone remained, "piercing and pressing on her."[60] She could not stand or move her limbs; her bed was frequently soiled, and worms began to create holes in her flesh.[61] Dulcesa experienced "such affliction, anguish and torment" for two years before seeking the help of Louis of Toulouse,[62] after which she felt "lightened" and was able to get up, at which point the fragment of bone fell out of her.[63] Dulcesa's account frames the bone fragment and subsequent filth and worms as external burdens that weigh her down, in contrast to the "lightness" felt once she was cured.

The pain, distress, or burden felt by the experience of disability could also be felt by the family of the disabled person. When Adam Kylpeck became visually impaired, he was "overcome by a pain in the head and an illness in the eyes … and he was in so much pain that he could not rest."[64] His brother, Roger, similarly became blind after an accident, and his mother, Margery, was advised to seek a miracle from Thomas Cantilupe, and so she sent her sister to Hereford with Adam while she remained at home with Roger, who was only a few months old. A few days later, at the same time as Adam was miraculously healed in Hereford, Margery heard her two daughters holding Roger and saying, "If our mother, who is suffering so much pain due to the blindness of Roger, sees his good eyes, she would rejoice."[65] Margery immediately went to Roger and saw that he had been healed. That Margery's daughters focus on

---

[59] "invasit cum febris que per annum tenet sum et attenuavit et exinanvit," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 123–24.

[60] "pungebat et urgebat eam," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 165.

[61] *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 165, 167.

[62] "cum tanta afflictione, angustia et tormento," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 166.

[63] "sensit se alleviatam in dorso et in cruribus," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 166.

[64] "Dolore capitis et infirmitatis oculorum supervenerunt eidem … et habebat tantum dolorem, ut non posset quiescere," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 234v.

[65] "si mater nostra que tanto dolore afficiebatur nato preterito ex cecitate huius Rogerii viderat nunc eius oculos bene gauderet," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 235r.

Margery's own pain rather than Roger's blindness suggests that she had struggled to cope with her sons' disabilities, and that she was healed as much as her sons were by their miraculous recovery of sight.

The consistency of emotions of pain or being weighed down followed by relief and rejoicing may reflect the emotive scripts miracle stories were expected to follow: just as a miracle healing usually involved rituals of prayers and vows followed by healing and thanksgiving, the emotions expressed by the beneficiary and onlookers should involve the expected degree of despair and rejoicing.[66] The emphasis on emotions or descriptions linked to being burdened or overcome may reflect the often long-term nature of disability: while a sudden accident resulting in life-threatening injury or a fatal illness might prompt more acute emotions of shock or anguish, the experience of surviving with a disabling condition required a different approach. However, in some cases the emotional responses to disability and cure indicate how disability – including the notion of whether an impairment was indeed disabling – retained some subjectivity.

When Rixanda de Fayensa was a baby, she was dropped on the ground by a nurse and blood came out of her ear. Once she reached the age "that someone should hear," her mother "called her deaf"; Rixenda could "at some times hear those words from her mother or others in her father's house, but she did not understand what they wanted to say, and as she grew in age she grew in deafness."[67] When Rixenda was twelve, her father vowed her to Louis of Toulouse and offered a measure of wax if she regained her hearing. By Rixenda's account, it seems that she was not particularly concerned by her impaired hearing: she told the commissioners that her mother and other people "called her deaf" and that she "began to recognize such deafness" when she was four,[68] but she does not describe any anxiety, distress, or any negative experiences. By contrast, her father, Guillelmus de Fayensa, told the commissioners that he "pained for her, that she should be deaf,"[69] while her brother Blacacius stated that those in their household "were ashamed that she was deaf, and the majority wished death for her more than life."[70] Rixenda's emotional experience of disability is sharply different from that of her brother or father, suggesting that the perceived severity of Rixenda's deafness and the need for her to be cured were far greater for her family than for Rixenda herself.

---

[66] Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 85–86.

[67] "ita quod, ipsa crescente, mater sua, cum ipsa testis esset in etate quod posset aliquid audire, vocabat eam surdam, et hoc bene recordatur quod aliquo tempore audivit illud verbum a mater et ab alias de domo patris sui, sed non intelligent quod volebat dicere; et eius etate crescente crescebat in ea surditas," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 153.

[68] "Et circa finem quarti anni sue etatis, ipsa que loquitur incepit conoscere huiusmodo surditatem," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 153.

[69] "ipse testis dozens de ea, eo quod ita esset surda," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 154.

Ricardus de Insula, a brother in the order of the Friars Minor, had warts that "deformed his hands so that, due to great embarrassment, he would not show his hands unless they were gloved, and due to the said embarrassment declined to spend time in community."[71] If he removed his gloves while studying, the other scholars studying nearby would get up to look at the "deformity of his warts."[72] Ricardus found his warts sufficiently troublesome that he attempted to remove them with hot irons and sulphur.[73] Ricardus's concerns may have been heightened by his position with the Friars Minor, as his "deformed hands" may have prevented him from being ordained as a priest, who was expected to be free of physical impairments;[74] his warts would have disabled him in particular by preventing him from being eligible for ordination. After he made a vow to Thomas Cantilupe, Ricardus's warts began to recede, until only one wart remained on his left index finger, which he could hide with his middle finger, and he could celebrate Mass.[75]

These frequent references to emotional responses to an individual's impairment – both by the miracle beneficiary and by other witnesses – and the decision to include these details as evidence of an individual's impairment and miraculous recovery indicate that physical disability was a shared emotional experience as much as an individual physical one, and that this emotional impact was equally important to an accurate and plausible description of an individual's disability. The reality and severity of an individual's disability (and consequent necessity for a miraculous cure) are augmented by its emotional consequences, rather than being purely based on a description of the physical or behavioral impact. The emphasis on the emotions associated with an individual's disability may also be a simple reflection of the reality and long-term impact of living with disability: the strength of the emotions created meant that to describe the experience of disability and miraculous cure without including the emotional impact could only be a partial account of the impact of a disabling condition.

---

[70] "et verecundabantur quod ita erat surda, ita quod magis vellent mortem quam vitam eius," *Processus canonizationis Sancti Ludovici*, 154.

[71] "Ita quod ratione dictarum verucarum habebat manuus precipue sic deformatus quod absquis magna erubescencia non audiebat ostendere dictas manus nisi cirotecatas ex dicta erubescentia consorcia communia declinabat." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 63r.

[72] "deformitatem verrucarum," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 63r.

[73] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 63r.

[74] Ninon Dubourg, "Clerical Leprosy and the Ecclesiastical Office: Dis/Ability and Canon Law," in *New Approaches to Disease, Disability, and Medicine in Medieval Europe*, eds. E. Connelly and S. Künzel, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), 64–67; Ninon Dubourg, *Disabled Clerics in the Late Middle Ages: Un/suitable for Divine Service?* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023).

[75] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 63v.

4 Conclusions

The canonization dossiers of Louis of Toulouse, Thomas Cantilupe, and Nicholas of Tolentino were created as a tool to aid in the confirmation (or negation) of each candidate's sainthood. The commissioners knew what qualitative evidence was required to demonstrate whether miracles had occurred by the merits of each candidate, and they framed their questions to elicit this evidence from the witnesses. The identification of different individuals as previously disabled and now no longer disabled was a corollary of this process: if miracles were a prerequisite to confirming sainthood, then the miracle beneficiaries' claims also needed to be verified. However, the key participants in the creation of the dossier – the witnesses – did not need further evidence to confirm the reality of the miracles they had witnessed or the candidate's sainthood. For the witnesses who testified at the canonization inquests, the public reputation and the miracles they personally witnessed were sufficient to confirm their belief that Louis of Toulouse, Thomas Cantilupe, or Nicholas of Tolentino were saints in paradise. While the commissioners asked questions because they did not know whether the candidate was a saint or whether disabled people had been miraculously healed by them, the witnesses answered their questions precisely because they did know that disabled people had miraculously recovered and they firmly believed in the candidate's sainthood.

The questions and answers recorded in the dossiers provide an insight into their perceptions of disability, miracle, and sainthood. For the commissioners, miraculous recoveries from disabling illnesses or health conditions required the illness or health condition to be long-term and incurable by human intervention alone. These conditions could be reliably identified by members of the disabled person's community, without any specialist knowledge: the appearance of a disabling condition or behaviors commonly associated with it were sufficient. The recovery also needed to be long-term: temporary recovery was not evidence of a miracle, suggesting a belief that the human body was mutable and the impact of a disabling condition could ebb and flow. A miracle also needs to be exclusively due to the work of God by the merits of the named holy individual. Any additional human or supernatural intervention negated the claims to a miracle, necessitating closer interrogation into the circumstances in which the miracle occurred. The purported saint's claims to sainthood were also strengthened by the public reputation surrounding them and their miracles: the more a local community believed an individual to be a saint, the more likely it was that they were. For the witnesses, disabling conditions were commonly understood to result in non-normative behaviors, which were common to and could be used to identify and verify that condition. The disabling impact of a condition could be subjective to a degree and could extend beyond the physical or sensory impact to have an emotional effect on the disabled individual and/or their family and friends. This emotional impact might be as strong or memorable as the disabling condition itself, and both are a result of living with a disabling condition and exacerbate the disabling impact of the condition.

Despite the different positions of the papal commissioners and the (predominantly lay) witnesses, there are parallels between their perceptions of disability, miracles, and sainthood. Witnesses describe disabling conditions in terms of non-normative behaviors and appearances, and commissioners accept the appearance of a disabling condition and associated behaviors as sufficient evidence of disability. Witnesses make vows and go on pilgrimage to their tomb because they already believe them to be a saint, and commissioners use their actions as evidence that only this supposed saint was invoked and was the sole cause of a healing miracle. The pilgrimages, vows, and accounts of a candidate's sainthood and miracles bolster their public reputation and renown as a saint, and their widespread reputation and renown provide supporting evidence that they are a saint. The underlying shared perception of how to behave toward saints and petition for a miracle created a concurrence between the commissioners' questions and the witnesses' answers, despite their different positions of needing to confirm and already affirming the candidate's sainthood.

CHAPTER 8

"Are You Content to Die?" Death Acceptance and Death Denial in Depositions of Canonization Processes

Jyrki Nissi

According to depositions recorded in the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), 37-year-old *domina* Anthonia, the wife of a goldsmith named Honoufrius, was dying in her house in Siena. She had suffered from bleeding for eight days in July 1448. According to Anthonia's own testimony, her confessor Marianus had asked her whether she was content to die. Reportedly she answered to the priest in the affirmative. Yet, later in her deposition she explained how she had sought divine help that would rescue her from death.[1]

Anthonia's case is one of the hundreds of death-related miracles that were examined in late medieval canonization processes. The miracles selected for the investigation in canonization processes were the ones that were considered to be the most important ones for the canonization. The miracles that were performed by Christ and the apostles in the Bible served as an example for the saints.[2] The importance of resurrection miracles for the saint-making becomes clear in the way they were treated in late medieval canonization processes. The fact that they were increasingly recorded from the fourteenth century onward, and that they were often investigated at the beginning of postmortem miracles, is evidence that these were regarded to be the ultimate miracles saints could perform.

The specific objective of this chapter is to investigate how death acceptance or denial was articulated in the depositions of two resurrection miracles. Specifically, how are individuals recorded as coming to terms with the fact that they are about to die? The first analysed case is the above-mentioned Anthonia's

---

[1] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, ed. Letizia Pellegrini (Grottaferrata: Frati editori di Quaracchi, 2009), 505.

[2] On the biblical example of miracles, see, for example, Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 8–12; Ronald Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1995, originally 1977), 49–50; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 466–67.

© JYRKI NISSI, 2025 | DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_010

case from the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena. I compare this case to the widespread instructions of *ars moriendi* guidebooks. Reading depositions concurrently with the guidebooks will reveal how the church’s dogma of death acceptance differed from people’s lived religion. The other resurrection case comes from the canonization process of Birgitta of Sweden; it, for its part, shares some similarities with the attitudes of *ars moriendi* guidebooks. This case will be analysed in the context of late medieval fear of sudden death.

According to present-day psychologists, people manage the fear of death primarily through cultural worldviews and belief systems, like religions, that provide individuals with a sense of literal or symbolic immortality.[3] I argue that in addition to the Christian belief in an afterlife and in the ultimate salvation that death would bring, also the cult of saints eased the negative feelings caused by death in the late Middle Ages. It was believed that through saints’ intercession one could escape, at least briefly, from death. The death of oneself or of a next of kin was an experience that caused sorrow and anxiety for medieval people, which is generally true for all humans. Ernest Becker noted in his famous 1973 book *The Denial of Death* that one of the principal things that move men is the terror of death.[4] Applying Ernest Becker’s idea, I suggest that in the late Middle Ages the realization of the apparent death prompted many to seek help from saints as they hoped to postpone death. Canonization processes enable us to analyse these negative attitudes toward death that are otherwise so difficult to reach in medieval sources.

1 The Use of Canonization Processes in the Study of Medieval Death and Dying

Scholars have investigated subjects related to medieval death and dying meticulously since the late 1970s.[5] Especially Philippe Ariès and his compatriots and fellow members of the *Annales* school Michel Vovelle, Jacques Chiffoleau, and Jacques le Goff were pioneers of the field.[6] The above-mentioned scholars analysed medieval death in *longue durée* style. Studies on medieval death have generally concentrated on more limited themes and periods since the 1990s. Lately several edited books have scrutinized the temporal and geographical differences and similarities in the attitudes toward medieval death and dying. This has brought a more nuanced approach to the field, while still keeping the *longue durée* method in the background.[7] Especially testamentary practices, burial practices, commemoration of the dead, macabre art, *ars moriendi* guidebooks, and other normative instructions, such as those included in church manuals, have gained medievalists' interest during the past decades.

---

[3] Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski, *The Worm at the Core: On the Role of Death in Life* (London: Penguin Books, 2016), 8–11.

[4] Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1973), 11.

[5] On the historiography of medieval death, see, for example, Jyrki Nissi, *The Communality of Death and Dying in 15th Century Europe: Evidence of Miracle Narratives and ars moriendi Guidebooks* (Tampere: Tampere University, 2021), 23–38.

[6] Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Michel Vovelle, *La mort et l’Occident: De 1300 à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983); Jacques Chiffoleau, *La Comptabilité de l’au-dela. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région*

Canonization processes can also be useful for the scholars of medieval death and dying, especially in questions related to the social history of dying and lived religion. Depositions to canonization processes' postmortem miracles describe situations in which a person was recorded to be dead or dying, but after people prayed for a saint's help the person came back to life. In some canonization processes one finds resurrections also among the *in vita* miracles. In such cases a saint candidate had been at a deathbed, or at the scene of an accident, and the avoidance of evident death was interpreted to be due to the presence and prayers of this saintly figure. The difference between the cases in which a person was allegedly dead (*mortuus*), almost dead (*semi mortuus*, *quasi mortuus*, etc.), or just dying (*in extremis*, for example) is not always clear. Therefore, it is best not to make a strict division between such miracles and, the terms resurrection miracles and death-related miracles are used interchangeably in my work. Depositions of different kind of cases can provide surprisingly detailed information about people's actions, emotions, rituals, and devotional practices in the process of death, as will be presented later in this chapter. Still, one must be aware of the

---

d'Avignon á la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1320–vers 1480) (Rome: École francaise de Rome, 1980); Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[7] See especially Markus J. Wenninger, ed., *Du guoter tôt. Sterben im Mittelalter. Ideal und Realität* (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlagt, 1998); Edelgard DuBruck and Barbara Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio, eds., *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Anna Laura Trombetti Budriesi, ed., *Un gallo ad Asclepio. Morte, morti e società tra antichità e prima età moderna* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2013); Mia Korpiola and Anu Lahtinen, eds., *Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2015); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Joëlle Rollo-Koster, ed., *Death in Medieval Europe: Death Scripted and Death Choreographed* (London: Routledge, 2017); Thea Tomaini, ed., *Dealing with the Death. Mortality and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle, eds., *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

stereotypical and standardized elements of these miracles, and the limitations that the form and creation of these sources pose to a historian.

Historiography of the use of canonization processes in the field of medieval death and dying is not very vast. Christian Krötzl was the first one to unite hagiographic studies and death studies with his 1992 article "Evidentissima signa mortis."[8] By analysing Scandinavian resurrection miracles Krötzl proposed that people observed several different bodily signs when they deliberated whether a person was dead or not. Signs of death were an important matter to mention in depositions of canonization processes because they were a way to testify that a person had been dead, and hence that a true miracle had occurred. The role of doctors was insignificant in the Scandinavian hagiographic material that Krötzl used in his article. My own studies, however, have highlighted the role of medical experts around dying people in Italian resurrection miracles.[9] Similarly, Nancy Caciola and Leigh Ann Craig have shown based on English resurrection miracles that this material includes important information for historians who are interested in death-related medical matters.[10]

After Krötzl, Didier Lett studied resurrection miracles recorded in French and English twelfth- and thirteenth-century miracle narratives.[11] He noticed that only six percent of the cases he scrutinized were resurrections. Lett detected that in his material the percentage of resurrections declines as the age of the beneficiary grows. He stated that resurrection miracles were most of all a privilege of infants. Lett's observations were an important point of comparison for my work on the communal aspect of death in the fifteenth-century Swedish and Italian resurrection miracles; in these sources the situation was completely different than it was in the earlier miracles analysed by Lett. Resurrections were equally available to everybody regardless of the beneficiary's age; in the fifteenth century they were no longer a marginal miracle category.[12]

---

[8] Christian Krötzl, "Evidentissima signa mortis. Zu Tod und Todesfestellung in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," in *Symbole des Alltags Alltag des Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gertrud Blaschitz (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 765–75.

[9] Jyrki Nissi, "Quomodo scit quod mortuus erat? Signs of Death in 15th Century Italy," *SVMMA* 7 (2016): 72–100; Jyrki Nissi, "Death in a Birth Chamber. Birth Attendants as Expert Witnesses in the Canonization Process of Bernardino of Siena," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 226–48.

[10] Nancy Mandeville Caciola, *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 95–104; Leigh Ann Craig, "Describing Death and Resurrection: Medicine and the Humors in Two Late Medieval Miracles," in *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing: Sites, Objects, and Texts*, eds. Barbara S. Bowers and Linda Migl Keyser (London: Routledge, 2016), 103–15.

[11] Didier Lett, "Dire la mort de l'enfant qui va ressusciter dans quelques récits de miracles des XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles," in *L'enfant et la mort*, ed. Pierre Ellinger (Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 1997), 137–55. See also Didier Lett, *L'Enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle)* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), 66–77.

Resurrections became a more apparent miracle category in the canonization processes from the fourteenth century onward. According to André Vauchez, they were rarely recorded during the thirteenth century, constituting only 2.2 percent of miracles in the canonization processes between 1201 and 1300. Between 1301 and 1417 the proportion of resurrection miracles increased to 10.2 percent.[13] Research to date has not yet determined what the exact percentage of resurrections was in the canonization processes held during the later decades of the fifteenth century. However, tentative investigation suggests that resurrection miracles were recorded more frequently at that time than they had been during the time span studied by Vauchez.[14]

The increase in the number of recorded resurrection miracles from the fourteenth century onward has been linked to the development of the canonization procedure. The papal curia required careful proof of the miraculous powers of the candidate, so the promoters of canonizations preferred spectacular miracles, such as resurrections. Another reason was the change in the methods of invocation; a saint's intercession could be prayed for at a distance – it was no longer mandatory to touch a saint's relics or a shrine while invoking his or her help. The pilgrimage was done afterwards in gratitude for a saint. Apart from small children, rarely was a dead or a dying person transported to a shrine. Change of methods of invocation as well as change in the preferences of the organizing party enabled more resurrection miracles to be investigated in a canonization hearing.[15]

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century canonization processes include useful information for the study of death practices of the laity. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa demonstrated this in her 2011 article "Rituals and Reputation," in which she analysed one particularly informative case recorded in the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino.[16] Michael Goodich, for his part, made an impressive analysis of topical elements in the narratives of saints' deaths.[17] Hence, canonization processes can be used broadly when studying various social, medical, and religious aspects of medieval death and dying. This chapter provides new insights into the emotional aspects of medieval death. Next, let us continue with the case of the dying Anthonia.

---

[12] Nissi, *The Communality of Death*.

[13] Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 468.

[14] On the number of resurrection miracles in some fifteenth-century canonization processes, see Nissi, *The Communality of Death*, 54.

[15] Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 466–70; Christian Krötzl, "*Miracula Post Mortem*: On Function, Content, and Typological Changes," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 157–75. On infants' resurrection miracles at one Italian shrine, see Fredrika H. Jakobs, "Not Quite Dead: Imagining the Miracle of Infant Resuscitation," in *Picturing Death 1200–1600*, eds. Stephen Perkinson and Noa Turel (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 188–210.

2 Escaping Death with the Help of Bernardino of Siena

The inquiry of Bernardino of Siena's sainthood was opened only one year after his death and consisted of three investigations *in partibus*. The first investigation was held in L'Aquila in 1445, the second was held in the same place in 1447, and the last took place one year later in several different locations in central Italy between Rome, Siena, Perugia, the March of Ancona, and L'Aquila.[18] In addition to the testimonies about the saintly life of Bernardino, there were accounts of 162 postmortem miracles in total. Twenty-eight of those are resurrection cases. Bernardino's canonization is a good example of the importance that canonization commissions and the papal curia placed on these spectacular miracles. The first inquiry did not include any resurrection miracles, which was probably one of the reasons why the canonization was not successful after the first hearing. The shortage of resurrections was compensated in the two subsequent hearings in which they were recorded in great numbers. Bernardino was canonized five years after the opening of the process.

In Bernardino's process, each miracle is first presented as a short article, *articulus*, which gives the basic information about the event. Then, the witnesses testified to these articles by verifying the content to be true and answered the questions presented by the commissioners. Anthonia's case, which was briefly introduced at the beginning of this chapter, was recorded during the third investigation in 1448 in Siena. The article provides information about the woman's condition: she was so debilitated that a priest had been called in twice to give her the extreme unction.[19] Whether the anointing was performed twice or only the priest was called in twice remains unclear. In any case, the mention of the extreme unction has been used to indicate that the woman was truly considered to be dying. Reportedly her condition started to improve only when help was requested from Bernardino of Siena. The depositions to the case give more detailed information about priest's visit, the ways in which Bernardino's help was requested, and, most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, about Anthonia's two-fold attitudes toward her impending death.

---

[16] Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Rituals and Reputation: Immature Death in the Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes," in *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 315–39.

[17] Michael Goodich, "The Death of a Saint: A Hagiographical Topos," in *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in the Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. Katariina Mustakallio et al. (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2005), 227–38.

[18] On the details of the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena, see Letizia Pellegrini's introduction in *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*. See also Letizia Pellegrini, "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonization Process of Bernardin of Siena," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Canonization Processes*, 105–27.

In Anthonia's case the mention of the delivery of the extreme unction is a clear indication that people were preparing for her upcoming death. Priests were instructed in the late Middle Ages that the anointing should be done only in the utmost danger, when death seemed inescapable.[20] The purpose of this sacrament was to support the dying person's spiritual condition (*salvatio*), not their physical condition (*salus*).[21] In practice this meant that a priest anointed with olive oil the eyes, ears, mouth, nose, hands, and feet of the dying. It was with these body parts that the person had sinned.[22] At this point the sick had already received the priest's oral forgiveness of sins because one must have confessed before the extreme unction could take place. The anointing was a corporeal manifestation of absolution and thus made the dying ready to enter the afterlife. Mentioning the extreme unction in a miracle narrative was a way to indicate the desperate situation that was a prerequisite for a miracle.

Three witnesses were examined in Anthonia's case: Anthonia herself; her mother, Andrea; and *ser* Marianus, who was the rector of Siena's San Pietro a Ovile church. Anthonia was questioned first, and her testimony is the longest of the three. In the canonization processes the first witness was usually regarded to be the most important one.[23] That also seems to be the case with this miracle. In addition to the fact that Anthonia could provide details of her physical condition during her sickness, she was also living evidence of the miracle. Her presence in the hearing testified that she was totally cured. The interrogation began with questions about the length of her sickness and how painful her condition had been. Anthonia responded that it had lasted for eight days. She had suffered the greatest pains; her stomach was twisting and she was bleeding copiously. Therefore, the priest was called in to hear her confession. Once he had arrived, the rector Marianus saw that she could not confess her sins because of her debility. According to Anthonia's testimony, the following dialogue took place. Marianus asked Anthonia: "Are you content to die?" The woman answered yes. Then he said: "Leave yourself into my hands as you have no strength to confess." Anthonia responded again yes, and that was all that she could say.[24]

---

[19] "Domina Anthonia, uxor Honoufrii aurificis, habitans ad Capud Fontis ad Ovile, ex fluxu sanguinis continuo qui sibi supervenit et per dies octo duravit ad tantam debilitatem devenit quod sacerdos sibi bis, ut oleum extreme unctionis daret, vocatus fuit, recommissa beato Bernardino, statim et incontinenti liberata extitit et sanata tam a fluxu quam a dolore quem propter fluxum paciebatur." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 418.

[20] Stina Fallberg Sundmark, *Sjukbesök och dödsberedelse. Sockenbudet i svensk medeltida och reformatorisk tradition* (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2008), 209.

[21] Frederic S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 202–3.

[22] Christopher Ocker, "The Motion of Another's Death: Grief and Mourning," in Booth and Tingle, *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance*, 387.

Next, the commissioners asked Anthonia the usual questions about the context of the miracle. Who was aware of her sickness? Where and when did the miracle take place? Anthonia responded that it took place in her house at the previously mentioned time. Her mother, Andrea; rector Marianus; Anthonia's husband, Honoufrius; and a woman called Catherina were aware of her condition. The next question was about the invocation that was made to Bernardino of Siena. The commissioners wanted to know who was responsible for doing it. Anthonia reportedly said that first she entrusted herself to blessed Bernadino, but she saw that her petition was not answered. Therefore, she sent her mother and the aforementioned Catherina to see Bernardino's companion, the Franciscan John Capistrano, and to ask him to pray on her behalf.[25] Anthonia's testimony does not include any information about the women's encounter with John Capistrano, but she mentions that as soon as she heard that the women were returning and climbing the stairs of her house, she felt how she was freed from all the inner pains that she had, and simultaneously the bleeding ceased.[26] Finally, the commissioners asked if she believed that her healing was caused by the intercession of Bernardino of Siena. She responded yes, because she had herself invoked Bernardino's help and because she had sent a word to Bernardino's companion John Capistrano to pray for her recovery.[27]

---

[23] Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 56–57.

[24] "Interrogata quanto tempore duravit infirmitas, dixit quod per dies VIII. Interrogata si gravis fuit dolor, dixit quod paciebatur maximos dolores et torsiones ventris ac copiosissimum fluxum sanguinis habebat, ac quod ad tantam debilitatem deducta erat quod presbiter, qui venerat ad confitendum eam, videns quod non poterat confiteri, dixit ei: 'Contentaris mori', ipsa dicente: 'Sic', presibiter ei dixit 'Reponas te in manibus meis postquam non vales confiteri'. Et postquam dixit sic, amplius non potuit loqui." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 505.

[25] "Interrogata ad cuius invocacionem sana facta est, dixit quod ipsa primo se commendavit beato Bernardino, et videns se non exaudiri secundum desiderium suum, misit matrem suam et Catherinam predictas ad rogandum reverendum patrem fratrem Iohannem de Capistrano ut vellet amore caritatis orare pro ea." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 505.

Anthonia's mother, Andrea, was questioned second. When putting down her testimony the notary saved space and time because she did not bring forth any new information. It was recorded according to the usual notarial custom that she explained the happenings with other words but did not change the substance.[28] Then, rector Marianus was interrogated. He reportedly said that he entered Anthonia's house twice within the interval of two hours. In accordance with Anthonia's testimony, he said that the woman was unable to confess her sins. Hence, anticipating her death, the rector gave Anthonia the general confession, referring perhaps to the *Confiteor*, which was the ancient prayer of confession.[29] At the end of his testimony, the rector repeats the somewhat obscure information about entering the house twice: he was called in twice to give the extreme unction, and he gave it to her. It seemed to him that the woman was gravely ill and nearly dead.[30]

---

[26] "Quibus redeuntibus et per scalas domus sue ascendentibus, se sensit ab omni dolore, ac eciam a fluxu, penitus liberatam." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 505.

[27] I have analysed this case also from the perspective of miracle mediators in Nissi, "Communal Acts." On miracle mediators, see Nicole Archambeau, "Miracle Mediators as Healing Practitioners: The Knowledge and Practice of Healing with Relics," *Social History of Medicine* 31.2 (2018): 209–30.

[28] "… et licet per diversa verba explicaverint factum, substantiam tamen non mutabant." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 505.

[29] Its formulation could be, for example, as follows: "Confiteor Deo celi, beate Marie, beate Benedicto, et omnibus sanctis eius, et vobis, peccaui nimis in corde, cogitacione, locucio, ne omissione et opere, mea culpa. Precor beatissimam virginem Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, et vos, orare pro me." Michael E. Cornett, *The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), 82–84.

[30] "… dixit se tantum scire, videlicet quod ipse testis bis accessit ad domum prefate Anthonie infra spacium duarum horarum ad audiendum confessionem ipsius, et cum non posset illa dicere peccata sua, preoccupata dolore mortis, fecit ei generalem confessionem et se in manibus ipsius testis remisit pectus suum tendens, ipseque bis vocatus oleum sanctum ibi detulit ut dicte Anthonie sacram daret unctionem, et sic eam vidit pluries gravissime infirmam et vicinam morti." *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 506.

3 Contrary Approaches to the Death Acceptance

The case presents Anthonia's dual view of impending death. According to the dialogue that was testified by Anthonia, she was resigned to die. She expressed acceptance of her death, just as the deathbed liturgy was meant to guide her to do. However, as we know how the deposition proceeded from there, we could easily question whether this contentment was genuine or rather something that was expected from her in front of a priest and the sacrament. Anthonia's desire to seek assistance from Bernardino of Siena reveals the paradox of her death acceptance. Even if she allegedly announced she was content to die, she still hoped to avoid death. To better understand this paradox, we need to see resurrection miracles in a broader context of late medieval death culture.

Death as a gateway to the afterlife has always been an important part of Christian eschatology. From the fourteenth century on, the moment of death gained more theological weight as discussions of beatific vision increased. The essential question was whether souls had the possibility to see God face to face immediately after death or whether they had to wait until the Last Judgment. The bull *Benedictus deus* issued by Pope Benedict XII in 1336 declared that the saved souls would enjoy the bliss of heaven immediately after death. Thus, the moment of death became the determining point for one's afterlife. It was believed in the late Middle Ages that there were two judgment points: particular judgment immediately after death and the Last Judgment at the end of time.[31]

It was in this theological current and in the aftermath of the Black Death when *ars moriendi* guidebooks spread across the continent and were translated into several vernacular languages during the fifteenth century.[32] They provide us with an important insight into how the church wished for people to face their last moments. The fifteenth-century *ars moriendi* tradition included the idea of lifelong preparations for death, but its fundamental object was to guide dying persons on their deathbed. Therefore, the *ars moriendi* offered the very last lifeline for the dying in the church's guidance on how to avoid the horrors of hell. These texts were well received by the audience; the composition of several different texts and their vast distribution and translations into several different vernaculars prove that a demand existed for this kind of literature and that these works were read by society's different spheres.[33]

---

[31] On particular judgment and the Last Judgment in the late Middle Ages, see Elisabeth Tingle, "Changing Western European Visions of Christian Afterlives, 1350–1700: Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory," in Booth and Tingle, *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance*, especially 34–36. On the bull *Benedictus deus* and the postmortem destinations of souls, see Stephen Bates, "Preparations for a Christian Death: The Later Middle Ages," in Booth and Tingle, *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance*, 78–79.

[32] Most recently on *ars moriendi* guidebooks, see Joost Robbe, "The Kingdom of Heaven cannot be denied to you justly because you have fought correctly: Tracing the Evolution of *Ars moriendi* literature in the Fifteenth Century," in *Religious Practices and Everyday Life in the Long Fifteenth Century (1350–1570)*, eds. Ian Johnson and Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 217–39.

The New Testament's Epistle to the Philippians offered later Christian generations an example of an optimistic attitude in the face of death, and it was used in *ars moriendi* tradition as well. The epistle that is attributed to Paul the Apostle and Timothy of Ephesus begins with Paul's contemplation of his forthcoming death: "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."[34] Death was more desirable for Paul, but he saw the importance of his missionary work: "For I am in strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: Nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you."[35]

This biblical passage was quoted in the introductory part of the most well-known guidebook of the fifteenth-century *ars moriendi* genre, *Tractatus de artis bene moriendi* (later simply *Tractatus*). The citation served as an example of how to react to the upcoming death. However, Paul's deliberation between the two options, life and death, is excluded from the guidebook, and the emphasis is on the desire for dying. The English translation of *Tractatus* expresses it as follows: "And so he should have his life in patience, and his death in desire, as Saint Paul had when he said: Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo."[36] Similar style was sometimes used in hagiographic writings as well when describing a saint's detachment from earthly life. In the *Legenda minor* of Catherine of Siena the exact same verse has been modified to report how the saint wished to die.[37]

Other passages of *Tractatus* also call attention to the desirable view of death; the whole introductory part is in essence a long exhortation to face death gladly. One should be prepared to meet one's end, and death should be welcomed like a long-awaited and desired companion.[38] The text highlights that death should be taken whenever God wills.[39] Bodily life and being separated from God are compared to a prison. Death, however, ends the exile.[40] Most importantly, "to die well, is to die gladly."[41]

---

[33] Rainer Rudolf, *Ars moriendi* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1957), here especially 62. See also Mary O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

[34] Phil. 1:21.

[35] Phil. 1:23–24.

[36] Frances Comper, ed., *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917), 9. The original Latin text: "et ita uitam habere in pacientia et mortem in desiderio exemplo Pauli que dixit Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo." Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat 10054, fol. 174v.

[37] "Qualiter ista sacra virgo desiderauit dissolve et esse cum Christo, ut aperte patet per orationem suam." *Sanctae Catharinae Senensis legenda minor*, in *Fontes vitae S. Catherinae Senensis historici*, ed. E. Franceschini (Milan: Università di Siena, 1942), 158.

The illuminated and abbreviated version of *Tractatus*, usually simply called *Ars moriendi*, instructed in its introduction that "it is very important that everyone should have the art of dying well … before their eyes frequently and they should turn over in their final illness, as Gregory said: He who always thinks about death is very much concerned with a good work."[42] And shortly afterward it is stated that "he who dies in the faith of Christ and in the harmony and obedience of the Church is happy."[43] Thus, thinking about death and dying willingly in true faith are given positive significations. Similarly, at the very end of *Ars moriendi*, when instructing that bystanders should faithfully assist the dying, undesired death is connected to a bad death: "Ah, but there are few who stand by their neighbours in death by interrogating, moving, and speaking on their behalf, especially when those dying do not yet wish to die and their souls are often miserably put in peril."[44] This way the acceptance of death is linked with salvation, and the refusal to die is linked with its opposite.[45]

Depositions of resurrection miracles offer us an interesting contrast to these instructions. Rather than giving evidence of death desires, the testimonies record people trying to escape death. If we consider again the case of Anthonia, we understand how the desire to run away from death was part of people's lived religion. Even if the woman reportedly engaged in the deathbed liturgy and the ritual that the rector delivered, soon afterwards she was seeking a miracle that could rescue her. For a modern reader this may seem to be a kind of double standard because the woman is recorded as saying one thing and doing another. Still, if Marianus had asked Anthonia whether she was content to die, as the woman testified, she had de facto no other option than to say yes. It was a liturgical formula that she was expected to follow. Anything else would have meant that she was dying a bad death, which would have had its consequences in the afterlife.

---

[38] "Scire mori est paratum cor suum habere, et animam ad superna; ut quandocunque mors advenerit, paratum cum inveniat ut absque omni retractione eam recipiat, quasi qui socii sui dilecti adventum desideratum expectat." Vat. lat. 10054, fol. 174r.

[39] Vat. lat. 10054, fol. 173v.

[40] "… mors nichil aliud est quod exitus de carcere finis exilii …" Vat. lat. 10054, fols. 172v–173r.

[41] "… bene mori est libenter mori …" Vat. lat. 10054, 173r–174v.

[42] Jeffrey Campbell, ed. & trans., *The Ars Moriendi: An Examination, Translation, and Collation of the Manuscripts of the Shorter Latin Version* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1995), 21.

[43] Campbell, *The Ars Moriendi*, 22.

[44] Campbell, *The Ars Moriendi*, 73.

[45] Similarly, in the Office of the Dead the narrative of Job served as an example of how to face all tribulations in life and death with patience. Sarah Schell, *Image and the Office of the Dead in Late Medieval Europe: Regular, Repellant, and Redemptive Death* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023), here especially 159–62.

Praying for a miracle could be considered a ritualistic act, just like the deathbed ritual performed by a priest: it includes repetitive and performative elements which people used to communicate with the otherworld. The essence of a ritual, as Sheldon Solomon, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski express it, is "wishful thinking in action."[46] This is exactly what praying for a miracle is all about. If we consider Anthonia's deposition as evidence of her lived religion, it is rather obvious that she was acting out her desire to stay alive by praying for Bernardino's help and sending women to meet John Capistrano. Even if she declared to the priest that she would die gladly, afterward she was eager to see if she could still survive this dire situation. Hence, the deposition records her putting wishful thinking into action. It was as if she were playing it safe. If she had died, she would have died a good death, according to the church's instructions. If she had experienced a miracle, she would have had her prolonged life to enjoy.

Anthonia's testimony about desiring to escape death seems to be the opposite of what the church instructed in the art of dying guidebooks. Yet, these kinds of pursuits in finding a way to continue life were not problematic but fully sanctioned for medieval canonization commissions. Interaction with a saint was necessary for a miracle, and Anthonia, for example, was trying to create this interaction at the most desperate moment. In Anthonia's case the fact that Marianus, the rector, was a witness to this miracle is an indication that her confessor saw no harm in the way the woman had acted. Rather, because we know that Marianus's church, San Pietro a Ovile, belonged to the Franciscan order, the rector most likely considered himself a devout follower of the order's new champion, Bernardino of Siena. Therefore, he must have seen Anthonia's actions in a benevolent way. Marianus most likely even knew the famous Franciscan friar John Capistrano, who played a central role in the miracle, as well as in the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena.

Thus, in the context of canonization processes, death refusal was religiously acceptable. Of course, we may only guess what the clergy's opinion of such behavior was when the outcome of the interaction with a saint was unsuccessful. In miracle depositions the positive outcome colored every other aspect.

---

[46] Solomon, Greenberg, and Pyszczynski, *The Worm*, 70.

When the outcome was negative, the people involved may have considered attempts to avoid death in a more negative light, perhaps as a sign of avarice.

Avarice and its avoidance belonged essentially to the *ars moriendi* tradition, and to the discussion about death acceptance. Avarice was one of the temptations that the dying faced, according to the art of dying guidebooks. This temptation consists of temporal things, such as spouses, children, friends, and worldly riches. To avoid it, one should put all these temporal things aside, concentrate wholly on God's mercy, and die wilfully.[47] Christ's words were used against the temptation of avarice: one could not be Christ's disciple if one did not leave richness and family behind.[48]

The woodcuts of the illustrated *Ars moriendi* depicted the temptation of avarice very concretely. The dying man lies in his bed while people have gathered around him (see Figure 8.1). The deathbed scene is not inhabited only by living creatures. The room of the dying man is illustrated in each picture as a battlefield between celestial and infernal troops. The temptation of avarice shows that three demons are accompanying the dying. One of them is pointing his finger at the family and friends, saying, "Consider your friends." Two other demons are pointing at the lower part of the picture that is occupied by an opulent house. As Thornton and Phillips have pointed out, the house occupies almost half of the picture, which emphasizes its importance for the dying man.[49] The banderol between two demons says: "Reach out for your treasure." A servant is walking a horse in the yard in front of the house, and the house is depicted as being full of wine barrels. These details highlight the wealth of the dying man and the material goods he is forced to leave behind him.

In the contra-picture against avarice, we are shown how one is able to overcome material attractions. Two angels are giving instruction on how to detach from the earthly life (see Figure 8.2). Another one looks firmly into the eyes of the dying, points his finger upwards, and says, "Do not be greedy." Another angel

---

[47] "Quarta [the source should read Quinta] temptatio que mage seculares atque carnales infestat est nimia occupatio rerum temporalium atque exterior ita uxores, liberos et amicos carnales et diuitias atque alia que in uita sua dilexerunt. Nam que bene et secuer mori voliunt … temporalia et exteriora simpliter atque totaliter postponere …" Vat. lat. 10054, fol. 180r.

[48] "Et omnia temporalia totaliter postpone quorum memoria utique nihil salutis conferre potest sed magnum impedimentum, memor verborum Domini ad eos qui istis adharent: 'Nisi quis renuntiaverit omnibus quam possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus'; et iterum: 'Si quis venit ad me et non odit patrem suum et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores, adhuc non potest meus esse discipulus'." Campbell, *Ars moriendi*, 65.

[49] K. Thornton and C. Phillips, "Performing the Good Death: The Medieval Ars moriendi and Contemporary Doctors," *Medical Humanities* 35.2 (2009): 96.

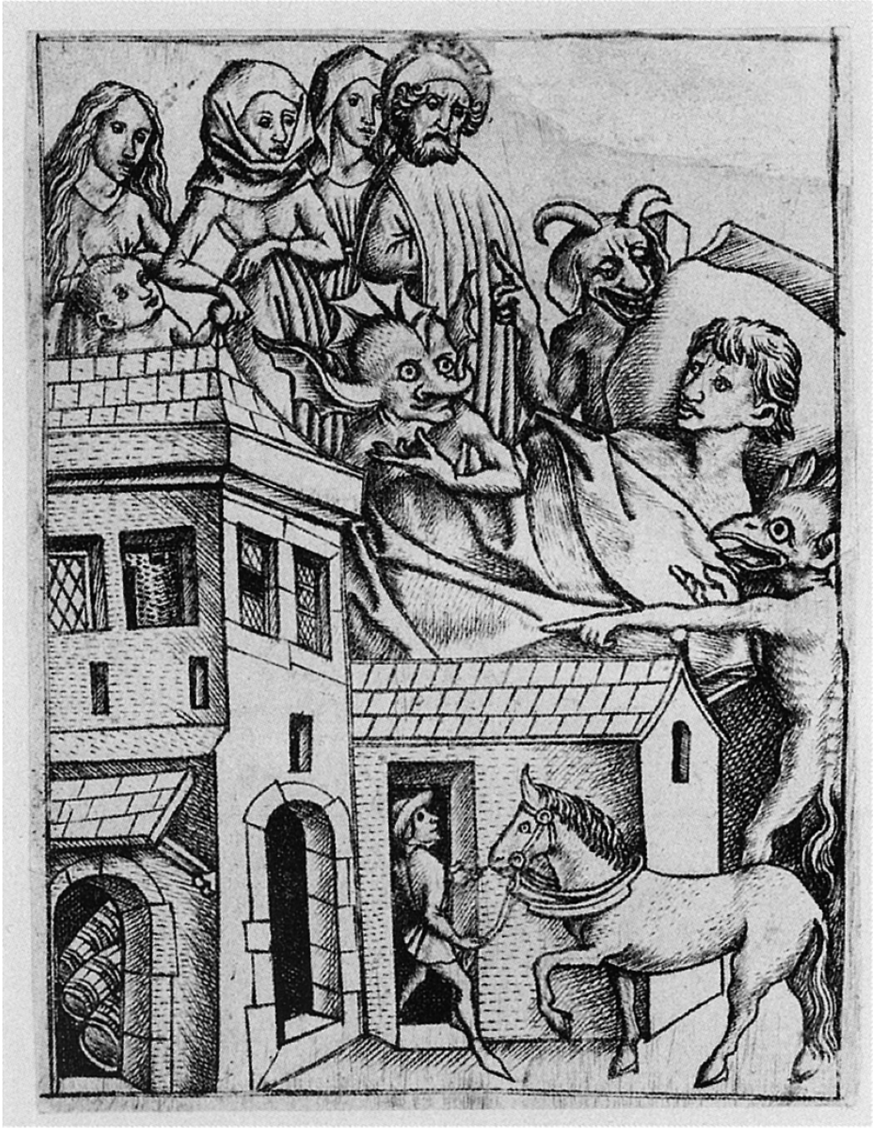

FIGURE 8.1 Wikimedia Commons. Janez Höfler: *Der Meister E.S: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts.*, Tafelband, Schnell & Steiner, 2007, L.183
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

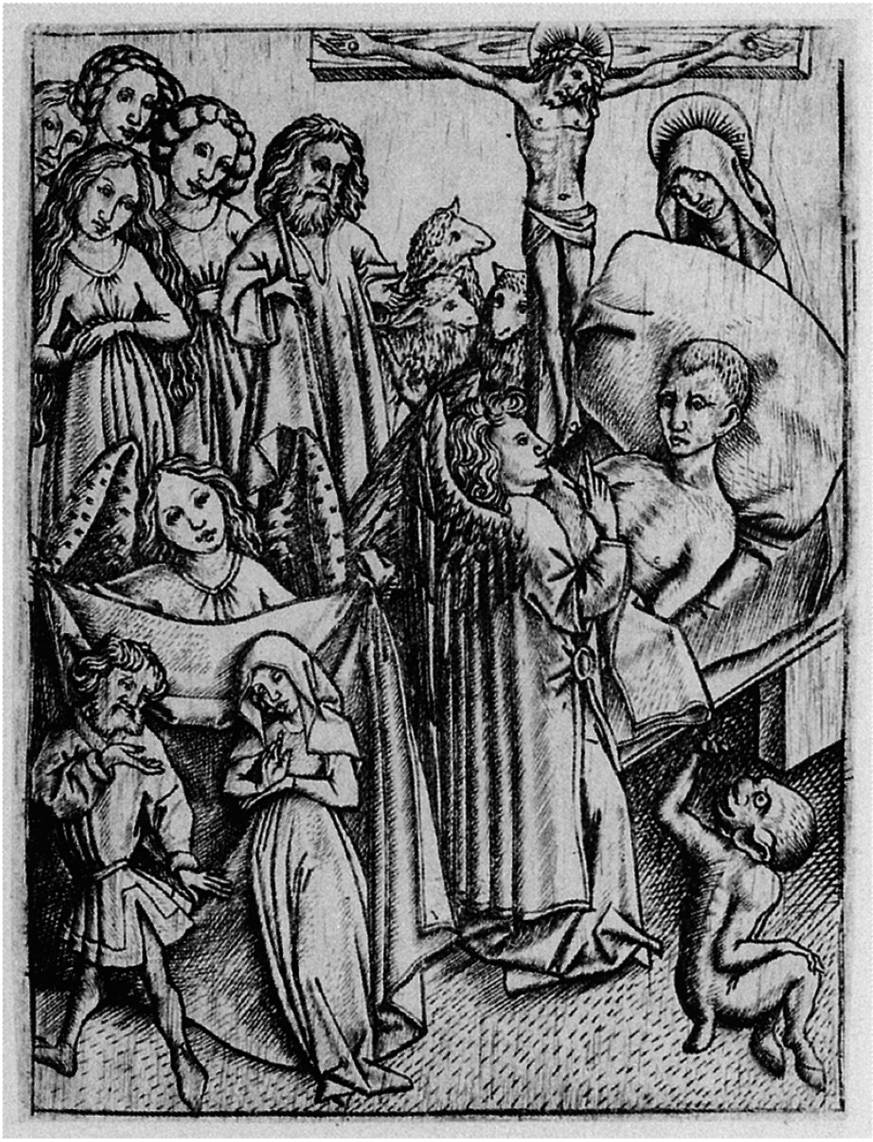

FIGURE 8.2 Wikimedia Commons. Janez Höfler: *Der Meister E.S: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts.*, Tafelband, Schnell & Steiner, 2007, L.184
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

holds a piece of fabric between the dying and his loved ones, saying, "Do not reach out for your friends." When the dying person has put his temporal matters aside, crucified Christ, Virgin Mary, and saints have gathered behind the bed to witness the good death.[50] The demons are defeated. One of them shakes his fist back to the dying person, saying desperately, "What should I do?" Thornton and Phillips have made an important observation on the demon's last reply. "What should I do?" – or rather the Latin "Quid faciam?" – is likely a reference to Paul's conversion. In the book of Acts 22:10, on the road to Damascus, Paul asks Christ what he wants him to do, "Et dixi quid faciam Domine. …" Like Paul, a dying person should submit himself fully to God.[51] Yet, in canonization processes, when testifying about resurrection miracles, deponents described how they grasped the temporal life that guidebooks so eagerly instructed them to reject.

4 Terror of Bad Death

In the Middle Ages there were multiple reasons for praying for a resurrection, and the testimonies of canonization processes offer diverse perspectives on circumstances in which people confronted impending death. A sudden death, especially, was regarded to be a horrific way to die in the Middle Ages.[52] A deathbed ritual was the most important element of the so-called good death, and therefore resurrections were sometimes prayed for only for a brief moment so that the dying could obtain the sacraments and thus die in a proper way. Unsuccessful ritual practice violated the community as a whole. The failure in the delivery of the sacraments concerned not only the dying person but also the surrounding community.

---

[50] I have analysed the temptation of avarice from the point of view of communality in Jyrki Nissi, "Who Will Accompany the Dying? The Communality of Late Medieval Death in the Ars moriendi – Guides," in *Memento mori. Il genere macabro in Europa dal Medioevo a oggi*, eds. Marco Piccat and Laura Ramello (Alessandria: Edizione dell' Orso, 2014), 515–30. I have proposed that *ars moriendi* guidebooks did not see a communal deathbed scene as an ideal way of dying. Instead, it was better to concentrate on the last moments with one trusted friend.

[51] Thornton and Phillips, "Performing the Good Death," 96.

[52] On the fear of sudden death, see, for example, Nancy Caciola, "Spirits Seeking Bodies: Death, Possession and Communal Memory in the Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 66–86; Jill Hamilton Clements, "Sudden Death in Early Medieval England and the Anglo-Saxon Fortunes of Men," in *Dealing with the Dead: Mortality and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thea Tomaini (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 37–38; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 36.

The medieval belief system even developed a way to avoid a sudden death: According to a deeply rooted belief, people would not die suddenly on the day when they had seen a picture of Saint Christopher. Other saints were also believed to be helpful because they were regarded as being able to intermediate miracles that brought allegedly dead people back to life. The cases in canonization processes in which people are recorded as praying for a brief resurrection so that the sacraments could be delivered manifest this fear of sudden death.

Whereas medieval church manuals or theological treatises illuminate the ideal version of the sacrament, canonization processes, on the contrary, give evidence of the problems that people encountered when they pursued the so-called good death. One such case was recorded in the canonization process of Birgitta of Sweden. Birgitta's miracles were collected in Sweden immediately after her death in 1373. After a local miracle-collecting campaign, the official canonization process was opened in 1379. The hearing took place in Rome during that year and the next one. The records of Birgitta's canonization process consisted of three parts: *Acta*, *Attestaciones*, and *Summarium*. The first part, *Acta*, consisted of the miracles that the local clergy had recorded in Sweden before the beginning of the formal process. *Attestaciones* included the canonization interrogations that were held in Rome. *Summarium* was an abbreviation of the whole process, intended for the use of pope and the College of Cardinals.[53]

One of the testimonies included in the *Attestaciones* is that of a forty-six-year-old noble woman named Golicie Orsini. Her long deposition was recorded on 21 November 1379. She was questioned about the moment of death of a certain young man named Tholomeus, among other things. Birgitta's process begins with a list of fifty-one articles to which deponents in Rome testified. In Bernardino of Siena's process articles were rather detailed; each miracle had its own article that explained the course of events, deponents testified whether the content of the article was true, they answered several predetermined questions, and the clear question-and-answer formula of the interrogation is evident in the survived records. In Birgitta's process, on the contrary, the articles are more general in style.[54] For example, the article number 40, which is the first of *Articuli de post mortem*, states that after Birgitta's death God resurrected many people from death thanks to her merits and intercessions. Then, the article continues by stating that this is famously and publicly known in the kingdom of Sweden.[55] At the end, the article just briefly refers to two Swedish resurrection miracles, although all resurrections were investigated under this same article.

---

[53] On the practicalities of Birgitta's canonization process, see Tore Nyberg, "The Canonization Process of Birgitta of Sweden," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 67–85. On Birgitta's miracles, see Anders Fröjmark, *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetet, 1992); Christian Krötzl, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im Skandinavischen Mittelalter* (*12.–15. Jahrhundert*) (Helsinki: SHS, 1994); Cordelia Heß, *Heilige machen im spätmittellalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c. 1300–1700*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 21–45.

Deponents were not free to pronounce their memories even in the hearings that used this kind of loose article. Yet, this kind of interrogation gave deponents more freedom to construct their narratives of incidents because there was no given structure of the course of events, and the list of questions was shorter in such cases. Nevertheless, because of notarial standardization and translation, it is always impossible to deduce what the actual words were that deponents had used. Hence, only the message, or the narrative level of depositions, is that of witnesses.[56]

In the recording of Golicie's deposition to the miracle of dying Tholomeus there is no indication of questions posed to her. This is not to say that there were none, but her testimony has been recorded in the form of a summarized narrative. The miracle was not investigated under the article 40, which was about resurrection miracles, but under the article 50. This article dealt with "other and diverse miracles that God made through the prayers and merits of blessed Birgitta." The reason for this was the fact that Tholomeus' case was not an actual resurrection miracle, in other words the man did not escape from death. Still, for canonization commission the case gave evidence of Birgitta's miraculous powers because the man avoided a bad death. In her deposition, Golicie explained how Tholomeus, who served as a *custos* of the Orsini family, had been dying after a serious illness. The man had lost his speech and reason, and therefore was passing away without being able to confess or to make his testament. Golicie reportedly felt compassion for the dying man, and therefore she prayed for Birgitta's help.

---

[54] On the various forms of *articuli*, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in Katajala-Peltomaa, Kuuliala, McCleery, *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 90–93.

[55] "Item ponit et probare intendit, quod post mortem beate Brigide Deus eius meritis et intercessionibus miraculose resuscitauit plures mortuos corpore, et hoc est notorium, publica vox et fama in regno Swecie …" *Acta et processus canonizacionis beate Birgitte*, ed. Isak Collijn (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell Boktryckeri, 1924–1931), 25.

[56] Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 90–93, 96–97; Laura Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73.2 (1998): 430–31; Michael Goodich, "*Mirabilis deus in sanctis suis*: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, eds. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 2005), 143–44.

According to her testimony, Golicie prayed that Tholomeus' speech would be restored so that he would be able to confess his sins. Immediately after her prayer the man reportedly gained his speech, and he was able to devotedly confess to a priest and receive the Eucharist. Then, he lost his speech again. Golicie was not satisfied with the situation but prayed again, and this time also made a *votum*. She promised to fast for a few days on God's and Birgitta's honor if God would again give Tholomeus his speech on account of Birgitta's merits. This time she hoped that the man would be able to "arrange his businesses." Golicie's prayer was answered again, and Tholomeus was able to conduct his testament. Then, "he migrated from this world to another."[57]

The deathbed ritual had such a high value in late medieval religiosity that the case was regarded as important enough to be examined in the hearing even if the man had died. The case presents well the hierarchy of the elements of the good death. The most important thing in avoiding the bad death was the confession. Only then could the Eucharist be received. But it was not only the spiritual preparations in which the dying man engaged. A testament was a secondary matter in comparison to the last rites, and therefore it was only rarely recorded in canonization processes. Still, in Tholomeus's case the mention of a testament gave testimony to the fact that the man had completed his good death and avoided a horrific way to die. Tholomeus's case is on an emotional level not that far from the instructions of *ars moriendi* guidebooks. It bears witness to people's desire to die well.

---

[57] "Item dixit ipsa testis, quod, cum quidam juuenis nomine Tholomeus dictus Custos de Riuo Frigido carnalis et lasciuus existens in Castro Insule pateretur maximam infirmitatem, de qua decessit, et perdidisset subito loquelam et totaliter intellectum et propterea non potuisset confiteri nec sua negocia ordinare, dicta testis compassione ducta cum magna deuocione fudit preces beate Brigide, quod Deus sua misericordia meritis et intercessionibus eiusdem domine Brigide loquelam restitueret dicto Custodi, vt sua peccata posset integraliter confiteri. Qua oracione fusa statim dictus Custos incepit discrete loqui et sua peccata confessus deuote extitit cuidam sacerdoti et corpus Christi cum deuocione magna recepit, quibus gestis jterato dictus Custos perdidit loquelam. Que testis votum emisit et se aliquibus diebus ad honorem Dei et beate Brigide jeiunaturam promisit, si Deus meritis ipsius domine Brigide dicto Custodi loquelam amissam restitueret, vt saltem negocia sua ordinaret. Quo voto emisso dictus Custos amissam loquelam statim reassumpsit et sua negocia testamento districte et discrete ordinauit et statim sic gestis predictis et ordinatis dictus Custos extitit vita functus et de hoc seculo ad aliud transmigrauit." *Acta et processus*, 459. See also Latinus Orsini's testimony in *Acta et processus*, 362.

Golicie had experienced another death-related miracle already in her life before she had been with the dying Tholomeus. This becomes clear in Golicie's testimony to article number 34, which dealt with different kinds of healing miracles that God had performed in response to Birgitta's prayers while she was alive and had touched sick people. According to Golicie, her seven-year-old son Gentilis had fallen severely sick twelve years before the interrogation. However, Gentilis had immediately recovered when Birgitta and her daughter Catherine had visited the *semi mortuus* boy, and Birgitta had placed her mantel over the boy. Golicie testified that she herself had asked Birgitta to visit and heal her son.[58] Magnus Petri, a Swedish priest who later became the confessor general of Vadstena Abbey, testified to the same article and reported that the saint came to visit the sick and dying Gentilis because Golicie and her husband Latinus Orsini were Birgitta's "special and devoted friends."[59] Hence, Golicie had a close relationship with Birgitta, and she had seen how her own son recovered from a mortal state. Therefore, it was only natural for her also to pray for Birgitta's help on behalf of the dying Tholomeus.

Regarding the use of medieval canonization processes in death studies, Birgitta's canonization process serves as an example of how depositions to different kinds of miracles can give information about matters related to death and dying. It is not only the depositions to clearly defined resurrection miracles that are useful for a death scholar. In Birgitta's process depositions to several articles are important when analysing the death practices of late medieval people. Consequently, one is reminded how important it is to be familiar with the whole process under scrutiny to fully understand the nuances of individual cases, interconnections between different cases with the same people, and the typical expressions that notaries of that particular process were accustomed to using.[60]

---

[58] On Golicie's testimony about Gentilis's miracle, see *Acta et processus*, 454–55.

[59] "… prefati dominus Latinus pater et domina Golicia mater dicti Gentilis erant speciales et deuoti amici ipsius domine Brigide." *Acta et processus*, 271.

[60] On the discussion about the importance of being aware of the entire process, see Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," especially 96–100.

5 Conclusions

The value of canonization processes for the research of medieval death and dying is unquestionable. This chapter supports the current view in death studies that late medieval people were not fascinated with death, but rather that different attitudes toward death and dying coexisted. Popular *ars moriendi* guidebooks instructed dying people to accept God's will and to relinquish their attachment to earthly matters. While some surely adhered to these teachings, the cases in canonization processes suggest that others were frightened by the idea of passing away, especially when confronted with the so-called bad death.

From the year 1336 onwards, with the issuance of the papal bull *Benedictus Deus*, the church placed emphasis on particular judgment over the Last Judgment. Consequently, the importance of the deathbed ritual grew. Dying well could be difficult at times because individuals faced sudden accidents or illnesses that forced them to confront death unprepared. However, it was not only the threat of sudden death that provoked people to pursue the prolonging of their lives. Similarly, some of those who had made all the necessary preparations tried to keep death at bay. The insights provided by modern psychology help us understand this phenomenon. Humans react to the imminent threat of death by fighting against it. I suggest that this fundamental argument of modern terror management theory applies to the people of the past as well as the present.

Late medieval death culture has long had a macabre reputation, not least due to Johan Huizinga's remarks about "an everlasting call of memento mori."[61] Therefore, it is important to note that medieval people did not simply surrender before death but tried to escape it with the means that were appropriate in their opinion. Although death acceptance was deeply rooted in the culture, theology, and liturgy of the time, in people's lived religion interaction with saints enabled people to express their urge to flee from death. When praying for the avoidance of their own or someone else's death, people acted out their death anxiety. The contrast between dogma and lived religion was not merely a theoretical dichotomy that is evident in different written sources with which historians work. This division could also manifest itself in individual death moments, like the depositions about the dying Anthonia in the canonization process of Bernardino of Siena represent.

In addition to Anthonia, hundreds of witnesses gave testimonies in late medieval canonization processes on how they had tried to avoid death with the help of saints. Deponents could talk about the ways in which they had tried to dodge death, because the fortunate outcome was interpreted as a miracle that was evidence of saint candidate's sainthood. Even if in other contexts the desire for temporal life was a dreadful sin of avarice, in canonization processes it was not.

---

[61] Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965, originally *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, 1919), 134.

It remains unclear whether the practice of seeking a saint's help at the moment of death became more prevalent as a historical phenomenon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries compared to earlier periods. While it is tempting to assume that the fear of bad death had an effect on the growing number of resurrection miracles, quantitative analysis of the number of different miracles in canonization processes allows us to draw conclusions only about trends in clerical recording interests. The surge in recorded resurrection miracles is most of all linked with the selection of cases under investigation. Resurrection miracles met perfectly the curial demand for spectacular miracles mirroring the biblical examples, and as a result they were repeatedly recorded in late medieval canonization processes throughout Western Christendom. At the same time, these processes generated valuable source material for modern historians interested in medieval religious practices, emotions and attitudes towards death and dying.

Acknowledgement

Writing of this chapter has been funded by The Swedish Literature Society in Finland's Lived Religion in Medieval Finland project.

CHAPTER 9

Writing Microhistory from the Canonizations of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer

Laura Ackerman Smoller

Most of the classic works of microhistory have relied upon the records generated in legal tribunals. The appeal of such records for one interested in writing history from below is obvious. Where, other than in testimony generated in a judicial setting, might one encounter the bizarre cosmology of a Friulian miller, the amorous exploits of a Pyrenean heretical priest, or the shrewd political strategies of an epileptic Provençal widow, to name just a few examples?[1] Yet the very records that have enabled historians to hear the voices and stories of ordinary (and frequently illiterate) people in the distant past have also been criticized as being formulaic, skewed by leading questions, and, in the case of inquisition records, tainted by the use or threat of torture or even death.[2] Those testifying in canonization trials, however, had no reason to fear such dire consequences if they did not carefully monitor their own words. Hence, the local fact-finding inquests that formed the early stage of the process of canonization (*inquisitiones in partibus*) from the thirteenth century on might well be presumed to provide an ideal microhistorical lens with which to view the *mentalités* of the witnesses who testified there.[3]

Yet the very name *inquisitio in partibus* points to the reasons that some historians have been wary of using canonization inquests to write microhistories. Indeed, it was particularly with these inquests *in partibus* that the process for

---

[1] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: G. Braziller, 1978); more recently, Steven Bednarski, *A Poisoned Past: The Life and Times of Margarida de Portu, a Fourteenth-Century Accused Poisoner* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

[2] For a summary of criticisms of (and defenses of) microhistorians' reliance on legal records, see Bednarski, *A Poisoned Past*, 13–14. For a view of the possibilities inherent in such sources, see also Michael Goodich, ed., *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), esp. "Introduction," 1–13.

[3] For example, Robert Bartlett takes such an approach in his analysis of a single miracle from the canonization of Thomas Cantilupe, the miraculous resuscitation of the executed outlaw William Cragh, in *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

© LAURA ACKERMAN SMOLLER, 2025 | DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_011

creating a saint most closely resembled the process for detecting and correcting heretics, which also followed the Roman legal procedure of *inquisitio*, and it is no mere coincidence that both procedures were standardized in the early decades of the thirteenth century.[4] In both instances, a process was opened based on *fama* (whether the widespread notoriety of a suspected heretic or the potential saint's *fama sanctitatis*), the accuracy of which would then be tested by the calling of witnesses and the hearing of testimony. In both heresy and canonization inquests, witnesses were frequently guided by a series of questions put to them by the heads of the respective tribunals, and their answers were translated, transposed into the third person, and likely shortened and edited by the notaries who took down and authenticated their depositions. Scholars, accordingly, have expressed varying degrees of skepticism about the extent to which testimony gathered at such inquests can be taken at anything resembling face value.[5] Thus, what has been said of inquisition records has been equally asserted regarding canonization records: "Written procedure [the process of writing] … kills the living voice of witnesses and of the accused."[6]

---

[4] On the inquisitorial process, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 11–17, 52–67; André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40–57, also 481–98 (on the scrutiny of miracles); Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter*, Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 28 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), esp. 354–94; Roberto Paciocco, *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella christianitas (1198–1302)* (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2006), 55–71, 123–25; idem, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings," trans. Lauren Jennings, in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, Reading Medieval Sources 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 54–77, esp. 60–62, 64–65. For the parallels between investigations into heresy and sainthood, see Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), esp. 119–79. Donald Prudlo has linked the development of the papal canonization process to the birth of the doctrine of papal infallibility, viewing both as a response to the challenge posed by heresy: Prudlo, *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). See also Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, International Medieval Research 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 43–74.

[5] For considerable skepticism regarding canonization trials, see especially Didier Lett, "La langue du témoin sous la plume du notaire. Témoignages oraux et rédaction de procès de canonisation au début du XIVᵉ siècle," in *L'autorité de l'écrit au Moyen Âge (Orient – Occident). XXXIXᵉ congrès de la SHMESP (Le Caire, 30 avril–5 mai 2008)*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 102 (Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009), 89–106, http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/10778. In addition to the problems with canonization records mentioned above, Lett notes that interpreters often provided a "supplemental filter" (p. 91), that the records that have come down to us were recopied later by notaries from their original notes (p. 92), and that the order of depositions in the written record often is not a faithful reproduction of the actual order in which witnesses testified (p. 99). See also

While acknowledging the limitations of these records, I would like to illustrate here a way of reading canonization inquests that enables them, even in their most structured form, effectively to serve as valid sources for microhistory.[7] In order to do so, I have borrowed certain insights from historians who have worked creatively on inquisition and witch trials and adapted those methods to my reading of depositions from canonization trials. From Carlo Ginzburg, for example, I have learned to search for "anomalies" and "cracks" in the testimony of witnesses in inquisitorial tribunals, details that – because they are irrelevant to those posing the question – can be presumed to be of importance to those deposing.[8] From John H. Arnold, I have adopted the search for witnesses' "rhetorical or narrative devices," which he reads, following Michel de Certeau, as "'tactics' in the face of the inquisitorial process."[9]

---

idem, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008). Cf. the more measured remarks in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe*, Oxford Studies in Medieval European History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 18: "By now it is clear to scholars that canonization processes, even if full of anecdotal details of daily experience, do not simply replicate authentic lay voices. … When studying lived religion and the laity's devotional strategies in the face of a demonic presence, this does not pose an insurmountable methodological problem." Similarly, for thoughtful consideration of the difficulties involved in and, ultimately the insights to be gained from working with records from inquisitions into heresy, see Mark Pegg, "Historians and Inquisitors: Testimonies from the Early Inquisitions into Heretical Depravity," in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel Rosenthal (London: Routledge, 2012), 98–113.

[6] The words are those of Jacques Chiffoleau (my translation), as quoted in Lett, "La langue du témoin," 96.

[7] I am drawing here also upon my own early work with these type of sources in "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–54," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54. But, whereas I then stressed (p. 431) that my approach was made possible in part by the relatively unstructured and unscripted nature of the Brittany inquest into Vincent Ferrer's sanctity, here I want to demonstrate that the same method can yield similar rich results with a process that was much, much more tightly controlled by the *procuratores*.

[8] Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 10: "On witchcraft … we possess only hostile testimonies, originating from or filtered by the demonologists, inquisitors and judges. The voices of the accused reach us strangled, altered, distorted; in many cases they haven't reached us at all. Hence – or anyone unresigned to writing history for the nth time from the standpoint of the victors – the importance of the anomalies, the cracks that occasionally (albeit rarely) appear in the documentation, undermining its coherence."

[9] John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 166.

Keeping these two insights in mind, my approach involves a careful reading of those portions of canonization inquests in which multiple witnesses testify to the same set of events (such as a putative miracle). Such close comparisons turn out to reveal numerous small discrepancies in matters irrelevant to the goal of the tribunal, that is, to demonstrate that the proposed saint had lived a Christian life, had exhibited heroic virtue and, following his or her death, was able to intercede with God to work miracles. These seemingly minor details, I propose, can offer a window into the lives and aspirations of the deponents and can even show them, like Arnold's "confessing subjects," to be possessed of an agency that allowed them at times to resist the narratives that their interlocutors sought to impose on them.[10]

The examples I will use to illustrate this method of reading canonization records are drawn from near-contemporary processes for two saints who had quite similar fame as itinerant preachers: the Franciscan Observant Bernardino of Siena (1444–50) and his slightly older Dominican counterpart, Vincent Ferrer (1451–55).[11] Despite the fact that these two processes were carried out in such close chronological proximity, they showed marked differences in their procedural execution. Most importantly, the degree to which guiding questions and articles shaped the testimony of witnesses in the *inquisitiones in partibus* varied considerably between (and within) the two canonization trials. One might suppose that the more unscripted of the two processes would prove to be a better source for writing microhistory. And yet, in both cases, a close reading of the depositions of clusters of witnesses who testified to the same miracle shows witnesses adopting narrative strategies that enabled them to inscribe their own meanings upon the set of events to which they were summoned to testify. Further, in both instances, comparison with what can be presumed to be an official version of the miracle as ultimately approved by the papal curia demonstrates that the thrust of the stories related by individual witnesses could differ significantly from the message proffered by ecclesiastical authorities.

---

[10] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 14: "I seek to lay bare the constructions of discourse, but also to demonstrate the agency of those constructed subjects, and the tactics they utilize in the face of the Inquisition." Like Arnold, I am not interested in reading my sources in order to get to a Rankean "what really happened" but rather to discover, or at least to approach, the meaning their narratives had for witnesses and the often subtle ways in which they were able to get that meaning across despite the formulaic nature of the inquisitorial process at work.

[11] Fundamental for the study of these canonizations are *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena (1445–1450)*, ed. Letizia Pellegrini, Analecta Franciscana XVI, Nova series, Documenta et studia 4 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2009); Letizia Pellegrini, "La sainteté au XV^{e} siècle entre procès et droit canonique. Avant et après Bernardin de Sienne," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Collection de l'École française de Rome 340 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 309–26; eadem, "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonization Process of Bernardin of Siena," in *Miracles in Canonization Processes*, 105–27; Celestino Piana, "I Processi di canonizzazione su la vita di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 44 (1951): 87–160, 383–435; Henri Fages, *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1901), 2: 313–34; idem, *Notes et documents de l'histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier* (Paris: Picard, 1905), 378–402; Laura Ackerman Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), especially ch. 2–3; eadem, "Power and the Holy: Political and Religious Interests in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer," in *"Mestre Vicent és ací". Presència i fortuna d'un predicador medieval*, ed. Tomàs Martínez Romero, special issue of *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 49.1 (2019): 261–86; Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, OP, "El proceso de canonización de Vicente Ferrer († 1419): 1451–1455," in *Fra trionfi e sconfitte. "Politica della santità" dell Ordine dei Predicatori*, ed. Viliam Štefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum Romae,

1 Two Processes, Two Procedures

Although the papal canonization process was established in the early thirteenth century, even in the mid-fifteenth century the procedures for running a canonization trial were not completely standardized.[12] When the aged Bernardino of Siena breathed his last in the southern Italian city of L'Aquila in May of 1444, the papal curia had not opened a new canonization process for

---

Dissertationes Historicae 39 (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021), 83–105; Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 515–16, 530 (summary entries in Appendix 1).

[12] The classic study for understanding medieval canonization processes is Vauchez, *Sainthood*, esp. 33–58. For an overview of scholarship on medieval canonizations (to 2010), see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonizations," *History Compass* 8 (2010): 1083–92; DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2010.00730.x. See also Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, esp. 384–478 on the inquests *in partibus*. A quick sketch of all of the stages of a canonization process can be found in Christian Krötzl, "Kanonisationsprozess, Sozialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter," in *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Mia Korpiola, Publications of the Matthias Calonius Society 2 (Helsinki: Matthias Calonius Society, 1999), 19–39. For an analysis of the procedures for scrutinizing miracles in several canonization processes, see Michael Goodich, "Theory and Public Policy: Canonization Records," in idem, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*, Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 69–86; and Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles." For a more general introduction to the recording and scrutiny of miracles (in canonization processes and other documents), see Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4–18.

more than two decades. True, the air in L'Aquila was redolent with the odor of sanctity, the faithful flocked to view and touch the holy corpse, and a spate of miracles followed, all spelled out in a letter written just three days following the saintly friar's death.[13] Yet the promoters of Bernardino's sainthood had to invest in a considerable amount of research simply to learn how to go about enrolling him in the catalogue of the saints.[14] As Letizia Pellegrini has shown, that confusion was particularly apparent as regards the local *inquisitiones in partibus*.[15]

In fact, a comparison of the nearly contemporaneous canonization processes of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer shows a variety of interpretations of the correct way in which to conduct the *inquisitiones in partibus*. Most notably, the three inquests held into Bernardino's sanctity were strictly guided by articles of interrogation, and via these articles, depositions on the proposed saint's life were carefully segregated from those regarding his putative miracles, each of which was presented in a separate, richly detailed article. Of the three surviving (of four) inquests in Vincent's case, by contrast, the largest (in Brittany) completely lacks articles of interrogation, while the other two (in Toulouse and Naples) omit articles regarding specific miracles in favor of a general question about the saint's intercession.[16] A close examination of the testimony regarding miracles, however, will demonstrate that even in the rigidly scripted inquest into Bernardino of Siena, as well as in the more free-wheeling Brittany process regarding Vincent Ferrer, it is possible to see witnesses putting their own shape and meaning onto their testimony.

---

[13] Letter of Giuliano of Milan, with author identified and letter edited in M. R. Berardi and S. Boesch Gajano, eds., *Civiltà medioevale negli Abruzzi*, vol. 2: *Testimonianze* (L'Aquila: Colacchi, 1992), 451–62.

[14] See *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, especially 67*–73*; and Letizia Pellegrini, "La sainteté au XV^e^ siècle."

[15] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 73*. On Bernardino's miracles, see also the chapter by Jyrki Nissi in this volume.

[16] For an edition (and analysis) of Bernardino's process, see *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*. For Vincent, there is an imperfect, often abbreviated edition in Henri Fages, *Procès de la canonisation de Saint Vincent Ferrier pour faire suite à l'histoire du même saint* (Paris: Picard, 1904). For the Brittany inquest, one is advised to go straight to the sole fifteenth-century manuscript, if possible: Vannes, Archives départementales du Morbihan (hereinafter ADM), MS 87 G 11. There also exists a sixteenth-century copy of all three surviving inquests (records of a fourth inquest, held in Avignon, are lost): Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica, BH MS 690, which is now available in a splendid digital reproduction: https://weblioteca.uv.es/cgi/view.pl?source=uv_ms_0690 as well as a new edition with Spanish translation: A. Esponera Cerdán, OP, ed., *Proceso de canonización del Maestro Vicente Ferrer O.P. Edición castellano-latina* (Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, 2018). For the convenience of readers, I cite below from Fages's edition, as well as from the Vannes MS, from which all quotations are drawn. The latter is not foliated throughout, so I cite testimony by Fages's witness number. I discuss the process for Vincent Ferrer at length in my *The Chopped-Up Baby*, 49–120.

The way in which witnesses (and in some cases, their interlocutors) were fashioning their narratives also becomes apparent by reading their depositions in juxtaposition with an anodized, approved version of the miracle story. Such evidence is often rare, as for many canonization processes, including these two, records of the curial phases of the proceedings no longer exist. Likewise, for neither Bernardino nor Vincent did the canonization bull include a list of miracles effected by his intercession.[17] Luckily, however, in both instances we have precious indications regarding how this evidence was evaluated and eventually broadcast by the papal curia. In Bernardino's case, a fifteenth-century Carthusian manuscript from Koblenz (now Trier) preserves a list of ninety-two "miracles, collected, examined and approved in the papal consistory" that had been worked by the merits of Bernardino of Siena.[18] These miracles are arranged by category, beginning with the curing of wounds and ulcers, and ending with the healing of *podagra* (gout).[19] To the best of my knowledge, no modern scholar has looked at this list since the Bollandists signaled its existence in 1934.[20]

With Vincent, the story is a little less clear. We know that miracles were read out at the first of the open consistories surrounding the saint's 1455 canonization, but we are in the dark about how many miracles and precisely which ones. Still, in a brief life of the saint that forms part of his *Chronicle*, composed between 1455 and 1458, Archbishop Antoninus of Florence enumerated three tales of resuscitations from the dead, plus a list of generic miracle types, all of

---

[17] For Vincent's bull of canonization (issued only in 1458 by Pius II), Francisco Gaude, ed., *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum taurinensis editio*, 25 vols. (Turin: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, 1857–72), 5:144–49; for Bernardino's, Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 25 vols. (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas Quaracchi, 1932), 12:60–64.

[18] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1143/445, fols. 129r–150v.

[19] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1143/445, fol. 129r.

[20] Now listed as BHL 1200c [in Henryk Fros, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, Novum supplementum* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986)]; first mentioned as an entry in [Mauritius Coens], "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis," *Analecta Bollandiana* 52 (1934): 157–285, at 187. For a discussion of one of the other hagiographical texts included in this MS, see Michael Embach, "Eine neu entdeckte Handschrift der 'Vita Sancti Disbodi' Hildegards von Bingen (1098–1179). Die Trierer Handschrift 1143/445 8°," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 139.4 (2010): 486–92.

TABLE 9.1 Stages of the canonization processes of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer

	Bernardino of Siena	**Vincent Ferrer**
Place and date of death	L'Aquila, May 20, 1444	Vannes, April 5, 1419
Opening of canonization process	April 15, 1445	October 18, 1451
Inquests *in partibus*	June 1–September 15, 1445 (L'Aquila) July 26–September 5, 1447 (L'Aquila) June 14, 1448–June 1449 (L'Aquila, Siena, Rome, Perugia, March of Ancona)	October 31, 1453–April 7 1454 (Brittany) April 1454–June 1454 (Toulouse) August 1454–November 1454 (Naples)
Date of canonization	May 16, 1450	June 29, 1455
Independent document with approved miracles	"Miracles, collected, examined, and approved in the papal consistory," Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1143/445, fol. 129r–150v	"Letter of his canonization," mentioned in Antoninus Florentinus, *Chronicon seu opus historiarum*, part 3, title 23, ch. 8
Date of bull of canonization	May 24, 1450	October 1, 1458

which he reported "have been extracted from the letter of his canonization,"[21] presumably a document that circulated among Dominican houses informing them of the creation of a new saint from the Order. This letter, we can reasonably conclude, recounted the miracles that had been broadcast at the ceremony announcing Vincent's canonization (See Table 9.1 for the stages of the two processes).

To illustrate the method I propose for reading canonization inquests, I will examine one miracle from each of these lists of approved miracles – a resuscitation miracle, for the sake of consistency – in order to highlight the differences in inquisitorial procedure used to generate the testimony, as well as to examine the way in which witnesses' stories differed from the finished product, a phrase I use with some reservations, given that hagiographical traditions regarding these saints, even once canonized, were far from stable.[22] Somewhere in the murky zone between the *procuratores* who managed the inquests and the final lists of curially approved miracles lie the witnesses' depositions, a space in which, I will argue, individuals deployed details that reflected their own understandings and concerns, even in the more constricted circumstances of Bernardino's case.[23]

---

[21] Antoninus Florentinus, *Chronicon seu opus historiarum*, 3 vols., part 3, title 23, ch. 8 (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1484), vol. 3, fol. CCIXV: "Que predicta [miracula] sunt ex epistola canonizationis eius extracta." On this "letter of canonization," see Smoller, *The Chopped-Up Baby*, 220–22, as well as eadem, "Choosing Miracles for Vincent Ferrer," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 89–92.

2 Narrative Strategies in the Testimony for Bernardino of Siena

The Trier manuscript list of Bernardino's miracles contains six tales of individuals raised from the dead (numbers 76–82).[24] All of these narrations were drawn from the second *inquisitio in partibus*, which was carried out in L'Aquila in July through September 1447. As Letizia Pelligrini has uncovered, one of the obstacles to Bernardino's canonization detected following the first inquest was the lack of resuscitation miracles among the fifty prodigies recorded at the original hearings in L'Aquila.[25] The second inquest, accordingly, included a number of such miracles, both in testimony taken directly in L'Aquila and in letters collected from various Italian cities. Perhaps not surprisingly, the first of the eighteen additional articles devoted to miracles in the second inquest concerned the resuscitation of a year-and-a-half-old boy named Amicus, who had fallen unnoticed into a bathing vat (*tyna*) and drowned (*suffocatus*).[26] This is also the tale that marks the first in its category in the Trier manuscript.

Like all of the articles of interrogation on miracles in the inquests for Bernardino, the article concerning this miracle is quite detailed, in this case running to twenty-four lines of printed text. The article includes such particulars as the exact date and location of Amicus's fall head-first into the vat full of water, his discovery over an hour later by a certain Maria, the lamentations of the mother and bystanders, their fervent appeals – at the suggestion of a Third Order Franciscan named Dominicus Zani de Vazano – to God and the merits of the blessed Bernardino, and the precise signs of the boy's death and of his resurrection: his cold body, black face, closed eyes, and protruding black tongue, followed by the reappearance of pulse and breath and the emission of vast quantities of water from his bloated body.[27] With such a lengthy narration of the miracle tale, it would seem that there would remain little room for the eight witnesses summoned in L'Aquila to add anything new in their depositions.

---

[22] For a glimpse of the transition from the canonization process to the early hagiography in both cases, see Laura Ackerman Smoller, "From 'Real Life' to Saint's Life: Biography and Hagiography in the *Vitae* of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer," in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 33–51. In the case of Vincent Ferrer, it is apparent that the organizers of each of the surviving inquests were aiming at a slightly different portrait of the holy man. See Smoller, *The Chopped-Up Baby*, ch. 2.

[23] I build here upon my own work on Vincent Ferrer in "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," and *The Chopped-Up Baby*, ch. 3, but the miracle of Vincent's that I treat here is not one that I have analysed previously.

[24] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1143/445, fols. 147r–148v.

[25] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 87*.

[26] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 205–6.

Witnesses' stories were further constrained by the papal sub-commissioners' obvious use of a *forma interrogatorii* that guided their questioning about miracles. In canonization inquests, witnesses to putative miracles were supposed to be asked about the source of their knowledge of the miracle, whether (in a miraculous cure) they had verified that the miraculé was in fact sick, whether a vow or a pilgrimage to the tomb had preceded the miracle, whether the miraculé had persisted in good health following the miracle, whether the miracle was well known, and whether it had worked toward the strengthening of the faith and the glorification of God.[28] In addition, it seems plausible that the article, with its extensive narration of little Amicus's miraculous resuscitation, was read out loud to each witness for his or her simple confirmation. Certainly, the testimony as preserved does not include any of the witnesses' full version of the story, although the first deposition, that of the boy's twenty-year-old mother, Bucerella, is not clear about whether the mother was given the chance to tell her own tale or whether she simply was reacting to what was read to her. “Upon questioning,” the notary ambiguously recorded,

---

[27] Ibid. For discussion of signs of death in miracle testimonies, see Jyrki Nissi, "*Quomodo Scit Quod Mortuus Erat?* Signs of Death in 15th-Century Italy," *SVMMA* 7 (2016): 72–100; and Christian Krötzl, "Evidentissima signa mortis. Zu Tod und Todesfestellung im mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Gertrud Blaschitz, Helmut Hundsbichler, Gerhard Jaritz, and Elisabeth Vavra (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 765–75.

[28] Reproduced in Pellegrini, *Il processo*, 180–81. The *forma interrogatorii* used to question witnesses about Bernardino's miracles is quite similar to the one required from the pontificate of Gregory IX onwards and discussed in Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 50; Christian Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zur Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen," *Hagiographica* 5 (1998): 128; and Goodich, *Violence and Miracle*, 7–8, who gives an English translation of the *forma* used in the process of Thomas Cantilupe at 159, n. 19. For several examples, see also Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles," 50, 56, 58–59, 65–66.

> the witness said and narrated in all details just as is contained in the article on the miracle, except that she did not remember – because of her excessive sorrow and bitterness of heart – who first, who second and who third had the dead boy in their hands when he was first pulled, lifeless, out of the vat.[29]

For the bulk of her deposition, Bucerella simply responded to questions: How did she know the boy was dead? How long was the boy in the vat? When had the miracle happened? How old was the boy now? Who had been present? Did those present believe the boy to be dead? Did they take his resuscitation to be a miracle? Where had the boy fallen into the vat?[30]

Still, the boy’s mother did manage to work in one small twist. Although she did name Dominicus de Vazano (the Third Order Franciscan) in a list of witnesses to the miracle, she did not indicate that Dominicus had been the source of the idea to call upon the merits of Bernardino, as the article (and six of the eight witnesses to the miracle) would have it. This contrast is striking because, not simply did the article to which Bucerella gave her assent specify that Dominicus de Vazano had “urged all the bystanders to kneel and devoutly say a *Pater noster*, praying God that he would restore the boy to life from death through the merits of the blessed Bernardino,” but it also insisted that in so doing the Third Order Franciscan had been “inspired by the Most High.”[31]

---

[29] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 214: “Super primo [articulo], incipiente ‘Item quod de anno 1446, die 21 mensis iulii’ et cetera, interrogata testis dixit et narravit in omnibus et per omnia prout in ipso miraculo articulato continetur, preterquam quod non recordatur, pre nimio dolore et amaritudine cordis, quando puerum vidit mortuum extractum de tyna, quis primo, quis secundo, et quis tercio dictum puerum mortuum in suis tenebat manibus.” Bucerella was the first witness called to testify about the first miracle in the second inquest.

[30] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 215.

[31] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 206: “Supervenit eciam quidam Dominicus Zani de Vazano, Tercii Ordinis Sancti Francisci, [qui] videns eciam ipsum puerum mortuum, ab Altissimo inspiratus, hortatus est omnes astantes ut genuflecterent et devote dicerent Pater noster, deprecantes dominum Deum ut meritis beati Bernardini puerum de morte ad vitam restitueret.” In Dominicus Zani de Vanzano’s own testimony (ibid., 219), he gave himself credit for initiating the group prayer and invocation, but he did not claim to be divinely inspired: “Ipse testis dixit [quod] dum ipse vidit puerum mortuum incepit omnes astantes rogare quod quilibet devote oracionem dominicam dicerent, Deum rogantes quod ob merita beati fratris Bernardini resuscitaret dictum puerum.”

Bucerella instead spoke only of her own vow, that, should the boy be returned to life, "she would bring him to visit the body of said brother Bernardino and would make the boy wear the habit of Blessed Francis for a year."[32] The wording in the records implies that Bucerella added this detail spontaneously, immediately after her admission of her uncertainty regarding who had first handled the boy's dead body: "Further (*insuper*), she said that she had made a vow" (or perhaps we should translate it as *the* vow).[33]

Bucerella evidently took her vow – and her version of the vow – quite seriously. That her promise to clothe the boy in a Franciscan habit for a year following the date of the miracle was important to the mother is indicated by her answer to a standard question about when the miracle had happened: "before the present time, it was a year and eight days or so."[34] Given that the miracle, according to the article, had taken place on 21 July 1446, and that Bucerella testified on 29 July 1447, her recollection was unusually accurate, as if it were crucial to her to remember the precise day on which her son had died and been restored to life. (By contrast, typically in testimony about miracle tales, witnesses offer a vague date, something like, "last year, around the Feast of Saint Lawrence.") Further, she proudly reported in her testimony that she had indeed fulfilled her vow and brought her son, dressed up as promised, to Bernardino's tomb.[35] The devoted mother may well have resented the implication in the article that the idea to call upon the saint had come not from her but from a disinterested bystander. As I have argued elsewhere, for late medieval Christians, the ability to petition a saint successfully could be viewed as a marker of spiritual status.[36] The twenty-year-old Bucerella, it seems, wished to assert hers, against the implications of her interlocutors that the initiator of the invocation to Bernardino had been a divinely inspired Third Order Franciscan.

---

[32] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 214: "si meritis ipsius beati Bernardini Deus puerum suum resuscitaret a mortuis, ipsum puerum portaret ad visitandum corpus dicti fratris et faceret ipsum puerum per annum portare habitum Beati Francisci." Or, possibly, her promise was to bring the boy yearly (*per annum*), dressed in a Franciscan habit, to Bernardino's tomb. The words *per annum* here are ambiguous, but in the tenth article concerning miracles from the second inquest, the father's vow regarding his son who was ill with a fever included a promise to dress him in a Franciscan habit and make him wear the same for a year (using the same phrase, *per annum*): "ego promitto quod, in die Sancti Ludovivci proximum futurum vestiam ipsum filium nostrum habitu Beari Francisci quem per annum portari per eum faciam" (Ibid., 210). I am grateful to Bruce Venarde, Nicholas Gresens, and Thomas Hahn for their thoughtful suggestions about how best to translate this phrase in Bucerella's deposition.

[33] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 214: "Insuper dixit se fecisse votum, videlicet quod si meritis …"

[34] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 215.

[35] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 214–15: "[D]ixit quod eumdem puerum in dicto habitu, sic ut premittitur resuscitatum ob merita beati Bernardini, ad corpus eiusdem beati Bernardini, votum quod fecerat persolvendo, portavit." The notaries who recorded Bucerella's deposition also noted that she had brought little Amicus with her for her testimony but did not remark upon his clothing, so presumably, at the time of the testimony, he was not wearing the promised Franciscan attire, which would make sense, as it was now eight days past the year-long period of her vow: "Quem quidem

Bucerella may not have been the only one among the witnesses to stake such a claim. In the testimony of Maria de Burgo Sancti Sepulcri, the woman in whose house the accident had happened, one can discern many ways in which Maria managed to make the story much more about *her* than it was about Bucerella or little Amicus.[37] Bucerella's testimony had stressed three main points: her own anguish at seeing her boy drawn dead from the vat, her utterance of a vow to Bernardino, and her fulfilment of that vow. Maria's narration, full of direct speech and abundant detail, makes the speaker the true heroine of the tale. She paints a vivid picture of the scene leading up the miracle: Bucerella's arrival at the house to see if the bath was free, the dark bathing chamber (*stufa*) in which Bucerella and Maria both entered, their exit from the chamber, and the length of time during which they afterward sat spinning together.

Not only does Maria's testimony emphasize that her own home was the site of little Amicus's miraculous resuscitation, but it also stresses her own important role in the events of the day. For example, Maria pointedly remarks that, when the two women entered the bathing chamber (*stufa*), Bucerella was "not thinking of the aforesaid boy," subtly implying that her neighbor was perhaps not the most attentive of mothers.[38] Further, after the women had settled in to their spinning "for a good time," it was Maria – not the boy's mother – who finally asked, "Where is your son?" According to Maria's testimony, even at that moment Bucerella did not exhibit an appropriate level of concern, for her response to the question was simply, "He must have gone to his grandmother."[39]

---

puerum ipsa mulier, testis et mater dicti pueri, coram ipsis dominis episcopis et subcommissariis ibidem presencialiter sanum et vivum exhibuit et portavit" (Ibid., 214).

[36] Smoller, "Memory, Miracle, and Meaning."

[37] Maria's testimony appears in Pellegrini, *Il processo*, 221–22. She was the last of eight witnesses called to testify about the miracle.

[38] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 221: "Et sic ipsa testis, cum matre dicti pueri, dictam stupham intravit, non perpendens de prefato puero."

[39] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 221: "[D]einde ad filandum se posuerunt et dum per bonum spatium sic starent, dicta testis dixit dicte matri: 'Ubi est filius tuus?', qui respondit: 'Ipse debet ivisse ad aviam.'"

Maria's deposition intimates that even more time elapsed (apparently also without the mother's worrying about her child) until "at length," after announcing that she needed to leave the house and that Bucerella should do so too, Maria looked into the tub, saw a bit of cloth floating there, and, upon pulling it out, discovered the dead child. Here, too, Maria's testimony puts her in the forefront of the action. Her first words upon extricating the boy from the tub were "O blessed Bernardino, help!" Only after calling upon the saintly friar (long before Bucerella or Domenicus did so) did Maria inform the mother, "Look! Your son has drowned in the vat and is dead."[40] While Maria does describe the arrival of the Third Order Franciscan and his leading of the group invocation of divine aid, the force and rhythm of her narrative give much more credit to her own actions and her own spontaneous call for Bernardino's help.

John H. Arnold has suggested that we view the written records arising from inquisitorial processes as the product of the competing discourses of the witnesses who were testifying and of their interlocutors.[41] In this case, the papal sub-commissioners sought to verify the miracle as laid out in the articles of interrogation, while at least two of the eight witnesses to the miracle (Bucerella and Maria) pushed back against that interpretation of the events. That neither of these alternative narratives fully made its way into the official recounting of the miracle demonstrates what was at stake for both witnesses and their questioners. The version of the story reported in the Trier list of miracles approved by the curia is, in fact, remarkably stripped down (only the father's name remains, for example). The source for the tale here seems to be the article of interrogation, from which it borrows many phrases word for word

---

[40] *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena*, 221: "Demum dicta testis dixit dicte matri: 'Ego habeo exire domum. Bonum est vadas eciam tu', et dicta matre exeunte, dicta testis, surgens et inspiciens in dictam tynam, vidit modicum de panno, quem pannum apprehendere volens, pedes dicti pueri tetigit, quos manibus apprehendens, dictum puerum extraxit de dicta tyna et, clamans: 'O beate Bernardine aiuta', dixit matri: 'Ecce, filius tuus suffocatus et mortuus est in tyna.'" It is not entirely clear from Maria's testimony why Bucerella wished to know if the bath (*stupha*) was full (*completa*) or whether the two women actually had a soak in the tub (*tyna*), but in the article of interrogation and in the testimony of three witnesses (Cola Piciolo Antonii Colete de Vanzano, Dominicus Zani de Vanzano, and Nannes Piczoli Ciutii de contrata Vazani; ibid., 218, 219, 220) it is specified that Maria was preparing (*fabricavit*, *parabatur*) a bath (perhaps by heating water for the partially filled tub? The word *stupha* implies a hot bath.) Further, Dominicus Zani de Vanzano, in response to a question about whether the water in the tub was hot or cold, insisted that the water was cold: "Interrogatus si in ea posita fuit aqua calida, in qua puer fuit submersus, dixit quod non, sed frigida." Ibid., 219. Hence, it seems Bucerella did not herself enter the tub.

[41] Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 13–14.

(see Appendix). But Maria, whose home and whose discovery of the drowned child were prominent details in the article of interrogation, has dropped out of the picture. Dominicus Zani, with his initiation of the vow to Bernardino, despite the fact that his actions feature prominently in the article's narration and come up in six of the eight witnesses' depositions, appears not at all in the approved version of the miracle. Bucerella succeeded at least that far. But her own name and her own detailed vow – and it is hard not to imagine the adorable little toddler-sized Franciscan habit – have disappeared as well. Still, the irrelevance of most of the details in the article of interrogation to the papal curia and to Nicholas v, the pope who canonized Bernardino, lays bare the spin that the Franciscans who were the impresarios of Bernardino's canonization process attempted to impose upon witnesses at the inquest. The procurers could not resist highlighting the actions of a Third Order Franciscan in this first resuscitation miracle they sought to prove, just as Bucerella and Maria through their narrations attempted to demonstrate their own agency in little Amicus's resuscitation.

3 Competing Stories in the Testimony regarding Vincent Ferrer

When we turn to the inquest held in Brittany just a few short years later on behalf of Vincent Ferrer, a quite different, much looser procedure is apparent, one that perhaps more obviously invites the careful reader to discern competing narratives at work among the witnesses' depositions. While the Brittany sub-commissioners did seem to be working from a general set of headings on which witnesses were examined (starting with the saint's first arrival in the duchy and other details about his preaching activities and holy life), they did not refer to articles of interrogation in their questioning, and they produced, as mentioned before, no articles detailing specific miracles to be proved, even though the *procurator* had frequently stacked together groups of witnesses to the same miracle tale. Rather, witnesses were apparently simply asked "*de miraculis*" and allowed to tell their stories, although it is apparent that the sub-commissioners were in possession of and utilized the standard *forma interrogatorii* in order to clarify certain details.[42] It is possible that witnesses listened to one another testify, as the notaries sometimes recorded that one deponent had spoken in conformity with a previous witness.[43] (Of course, it is also reasonable to suppose that the notary was simply saving a few pen strokes with this shorthand.) All in all, however, Brittany witnesses appear to have had considerable leeway to shape their tales of the miraculous intercession of Vincent Ferrer.

---

[42] For details about the procedure in Brittany, see Smoller, *The Chopped-Up Baby*, 69–70.

[43] For example, Johannes Le Maignen, the fourth witness to the resuscitation of the abbot's nephew, for whom the notaries reported, "Inquisitus diligenter et examinatus super

Such was the case with the first approved miracle that Antoninus of Florence would later mention reading in the letter of canonization, namely, the resuscitation of an abbot's nephew, who had fallen from high up in a tree, a miracle reported by four witnesses at the Brittany inquest. There are significant differences in their narrations, however, and these variations appear to reflect two sets of aims: first, on the part of the abbot, an attempt to mitigate his own culpability for his nephew's accident; and second, a certain tussle among the witnesses about precisely who had initiated the vow to Vincent Ferrer. The testimony of the abbot himself on this miracle (the Venerable Father Lord Yvo, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame de Lanvaux), the first of the four depositions, takes up nearly two folios in the fifteenth-century manuscript of the inquest, a good one third of which is devoted to the circumstances of the nephew's fall. As the abbot explained it, knowing that he had some nuts in an upstairs chamber, he asked his teenaged nephew to go fetch him some of them for his lunch. When his nephew asked him if he should go above ("an iret superius"), the abbot replied yes, "not believing on that account that the nephew would climb the tree."[44] Subsequently, when the abbot wished to sit down in the refectory and asked for his nephew, he was informed that the nephew had fallen from a tree and was dead. Rushing to the spot and finding the lifeless teenager at the foot of the tree, the abbot testified that, at the urging of the other bystanders, he made a vow to the Blessed Mary and to Vincent Ferrer, "along with others present who made a vow solely to Master Vincent." At that point, the abbot retired to the chapel to pray for his nephew (so that at least the lad might confess his sins), after which he learned that the nephew was alive, recuperating next to the fire in the monastery's kitchen.[45]

---

eodem miraculo deponit medio suo juramento conformiter ut Guoro testis supra examinatus" (referring to witness 23, Frater Petrus Guoro): ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 25); Fages, *Procès*, 58.

[44] "Et sciens quod habebat superius in una camera nuces Johanni Goehaham [Gochaham?] nepoti suo etatis tunc sexdecim annorum vel circa mandavit ut iret quesitum eidem testi nuces. Cui interroganti an iret superius ipse testis dixit quod sic non credens propterea quod deberet arborem ascendere": ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 22); Fages, *Procès*, 56.

[45] "Et ibidem ad instanciam aliorum astancium vovit eum Beate Marie et dicto M. V. una cum aliis presentibus qui solum eum vovebant eidem M. V." ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 22); Fages, *Procès*, 56.

The testimony of the other three witnesses makes apparent the abbot's careful crafting of his story. According to the monk Petrus Gouro, the abbot's nephew had approached him to ask if he would climb the tree with him in order to gather nuts, an offer that Petrus declined, since he was supposed to go help serve the abbot's lunch. Petrus makes no mention of the existence of a stash of nuts in an upstairs chamber, a fact evidently known only to (or perhaps invented by) the conscience-stricken abbot. (And presumably, had he known such nuts were there, Petrus would have suggested simply retrieving them from the chamber and not gathering new ones from the tree, given the approaching lunch hour.) Petrus also supplies another new detail: that the vow to Vincent Ferrer had come only after the abbot had retired to the chapel and had perhaps been initiated by a certain Margota de Alrayo, a cousin of the deceased nephew, over an hour after the abbot's having left the scene. His deposition states that about an hour or so after the abbot retired into the church, "a woman named Margota de Alrayo … together with … all the others present devoutly made a vow to Master Vincent on behalf of the same Johannes [the nephew]."[46] Petrus's words leave it unclear whether or not the abbot joined his voice to those of the others making that vow.

The briefer testimony of the two remaining witnesses suggests that this latter claim may have been a point of contention. Thus, the third witness, the monk Johannes Estiennot, makes no reference to Margota's vow but rather speaks only of having "seen the abbot praying for [his nephew]" in the chapel and having joined in the abbot's prayers prior to hearing that the nephew had been restored to life.[47] Finally, Johannes Le Maignen, described as being a household servant of the abbot's, appears to have inadvertently let slip a truth that he perhaps had not intended to reveal: that the woman and not the abbot had been the agent through which the nephew had received Vincent's intercession. That is, evidently responding to a question about whether he believed that the nephew had truly been resuscitated by the merits of Vincent Ferrer, Johannes explained his firm belief in such by noting that "at once *after the vow* [*made by*] *the said Margota*, although [the nephew] was completely dead in the witness's judgment … the signs of life began to appear in him."[48]

---

[46] "Abbas rediit ad ecclesiam et tandem postquam sic per horam vel ultra steterat una nomine Margota de Alrayo, uxor Andree Lodic de Veneto, consanguinea dicti Johannis que ibidem fugerat propter pestem una cum patre dicti sui mariti ibidem presente et alii omnes presentes devote voverunt eumdem Johannem prefato M.V. quibusdam etiam ipsorum voventibus eum beate Marie que deprecatur in dicto monasterio de Lanvaulx": ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 23); Fages, *Procès*, 57. Note that Margota is not the only one to make a vow here, as her father-in-law and "all the others present" also took part in the vow to Vincent Ferrer, but hers is the first (and only) name mentioned among the list of those making the vow.

[47] "Et vidit dictum abbatem orantem pro eo et testismet orabat in ecclesia predicta et dum a loco oracionem regredi vellent et testis ipse disponeret pulsare campanas pro eodem Johanne ut mortuo relatum est ipse et dicto domino Abbati quod vivebat dictus Johannes quem vivum in dicta coquina repererunt": ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 24); Fages, *Procès*, 58.

Whose story was the one approved by the papal curia? Insofar as Antoninus's listing serves as evidence, it seems that the abbot won. Not only does Antoninus's narration omit the cause of the nephew's being in the tree, but it also reports that the youth's resuscitation came "after a vow had been made and the tomb of the Blessed Vincent had been visited by a certain abbot, [the boy's] uncle."[49] Margota, with her vow, like Bucerella and Dominicus Zani before her, disappears in the official, approved recounting of the tale. In the resuscitation of little Amicus as reported in the approved list of miracles in the Trier manuscript, the identity of the person who had first thought to call on Bernardino's aid is erased, as a detail presumably irrelevant to the only important fact: the Franciscan's proven sanctity. In the case of the abbot's nephew, the curia (along with the author of the Dominican letter of canonization and the Florentine archbishop Antoninus, who repeated its contents) appears to have preferred to present a cleric, and not a lay woman, as the broker of a holy friar's divine intercession. But in both cases, the approved version is not our only source, and an attentive reading of the supposedly scripted testimony generated at the canonization inquests reveals competing narratives, as well as the agency of the witnesses who managed to put forth their stories of a devoted mother and a caring cousin whose vows had resulted in miracles.

4 Conclusions

Read with an attention to competing discourses, the agency of individual witnesses, and the importance of seemingly irrelevant details, the records from canonization inquests prove to be a rich source for microhistories, despite their supposedly scripted nature. Even when guided by the specificity of the article of interrogation and the constrictive nature of the *forma interrogatorii* in L'Aquila, Bucerella managed to communicate the fact of and the significance of her own vow to Bernardino of Siena in her son's resuscitation one year and eight days previously. And, by reading between the lines in the more free-flowing testimony in Brittany, we are able to glimpse an abbot's guilty conscience and his perhaps linked need to insist upon his own central role – and not that of his kinswoman Margota – in the miraculous raising of his tree-climbing teenaged nephew. Yes, of course, the inquisitorial process could impose a certain structure and rigidity upon witnesses' narrations of their memories. But the crucial lesson from this comparison is the fact that, even when witnesses were not allowed to tell the story from start to finish for themselves, and even when the majority of their testimony came in the form of responses to sometimes quite specific questions, they still were able to retain agency in shaping their own narrative of events and to resist the interpretation their interlocutors were attempting to impose upon them through the articles of interrogation.

---

[48] "Et credit firmiter quod per intercessionem dicti M. V. fuerit dictus Johannes resuscitatus quia *statim post votum dicte Margote* licet ut prefertur omnino mortuus esset iudicio huius testis et aliorum astancium et sic stetisset per horam vel quasi apparuerunt signa vite in eo": ADM MS 87 G 11 (witness 25); Fages, *Procès*, 58–59 (my emphasis).

[49] Antoninus, *Chronicon*, vol. 3, fol. CCIXV: "Iuvenis quidam ex altissima arbore cadens ac mortuus per multas horas iacens. facto voto et visitato sepulchro beati vincentii per quendam abbatem auunculum eius: vite restitutus est et diu postea superuixit."

In many ways, these conclusions should not surprise us. The inquisitorial process was always employed in service of a cause, whether it was the detection of heresy, in the case of inquisition tribunals, or the determination of an individual's sanctity, in the case of canonization trials. That is to say, those posing the questions and taking down the evidence in such a setting were interested in only certain parts of what witnesses had to say. That a vow to the putative saint had preceded the miraculous resuscitation, that the unfortunate boy was really and truly dead, that there were witnesses who could corroborate the story, and that the resolution of the crisis was indeed taken for a miracle that worked to the glory of God and the faith were the facts that the inquisitorial process into miracles was designed to establish. Who had uttered that vow and why the unfortunate miraculé had suffered his fatal accident were of secondary to no importance. Yet it is those meaningless details that open up for a careful reader the lives and worldviews of otherwise voiceless people of the later Middle Ages and that make the documents generated by the canonization inquests so endlessly fascinating and richly rewarding as sources for microhistory.

Appendix: the Resuscitation of the Drowned Boy through the Merits of Bernardino of Siena

1. Bernardino of Siena, second inquest *in partibus*, first article on miracles:

Primum miraculum: De puero suffocato

Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimosexto, indictione octava, die vero vicesima prima mensis iulii, pontificatus sanctissimi in [206] Christo patris et domini nostri domini Eugenii, divina providentia pape quarti, anno sextodecimo, dum Amicus, puer unius anni cum dimidio, ***filius Cicarelli*** Nuncii Bonihominis de Balneo, ***civis Aquilanus***, secutus fuisset matrem suam, nomine Buciarellam, intrantem domum cuiusdam Marie de Burgo Sancti Sepulcri ubi stufa quedam parabatur, ***cecidit*** capite deorsum ***in quandam tynam*** positam ultra medium ipsius sub terra, capacem trium barillum, ***plenam aqua, ibique suffocatus*** extitit et in eadem tyna per horam vel circa, matre et omnibus insciis, stetit. Tandem per dictam Mariam, que pannos quos in dicta tyna videns levare volens, ipsum puerum per pedem levavit et ***mortuum extraxit de dicta tyna***, dicens matri: “Accipe puerum, qui in hac tyna submersus est et mortuus.” Quibus, videlicet matre et dicta Maria, ***plorantibus*** et clamantibus, accurrerunt **vicini** qui, videntes ipsum puerum mortuum, omnes ***condolebant***. Supervenit eciam quidam Dominicus Zani de Vazano, Tercii Ordinis Sancti Francisci, [qui] videns eciam ipsum puerum mortuum, ab Altissimo inspiratus, hortatus est omnes astantes ut ***genuflecterent*** et devote dicerent *Pater noster*, ***deprecantes*** dominum Deum ut ***meritis beati Bernardini*** puerum de morte ad vitam restitueret. Qua oracione dominica dicta, omnibus presentibus, puer ipse ossitare incepit et debilis pulsus cicra cor sentiri, qui prius totus gelidus erat ac niger in facie, clausis oculis et lingua extra os nigra apparente, statim per os ipsius pueri tam superius quam inferius emittere cepit aquam, nam ipsius corpus totum inflatum erat. Et sic dictus puer ***a morte resurrexit***, meritis, ut firmiter creditur, beati Bernardini, ex misericordia et clemencia omnipotentis Dei, cui laus et gloria in secula seculorum, amen.

Edition: *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena* (*1445–1450*), edited Letizia Pellegrini, Analecta Franciscana XVI, Nova series, Documenta et studia, 4 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2009), 205–6.

II. From the list of miracles approved in the papal consistory (first miracle in list of resuscitations):

Puer quidam filius cuiusdam ***Acherelli de Aquila*** in balneo ***cadens in quamdam tynam plenam aque ibique suffocatus et mortuus extractusque de dicta tyna matremque plorante viciniis condolentibus*** et tandem cunctis simul ***flexis genibus merita beati Bernardhini implorantibus a morte surrexit*** et testes super hoc producti sunt et diligenter examinati.
Source: Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1143/445, fol. 147.
[Bold-italics emphasis added to show similar phrasing.]

CHAPTER 10

Experiencing the Miraculous: Lived Religion in the Depositions

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

1 Introduction

On the morning of 4 October 1307, a youth called Nicholas Piscatoris traveled from his home village in the parish of How Caple and entered the chapel of Saint Catherine in Hereford Cathedral. The seventeen-year-old boy stepped in front of the papal commissioners – esteemed bishops and a papal tax collector[1] – and swore an oath to tell the truth about his miraculous resurrection. He was asked to recount what he knew about the miracle and started his reminiscing: it all took place one Saturday, some eight years ago, he did not remember the month but estimated that it was around the time people collectively made pilgrimages to Saint Milburga of Wenlock. He had been asked to take care of his father's cow, a reddish-brown animal with a star on its forehead. The cow was not properly domesticated, and when Nicholas was searching for a stick to tame the animal, he went onto his father's boat, slipped into the water, and drowned. Obviously, as the case ended up in a canonization hearing, this was not the end of the story. In death, he was measured for the former local bishop, Thomas Cantilupe,[2] so that a wax image as a counter gift to the saint

---

[1] The hearing of the life, merits, and miracles of Thomas Cantilupe was held from 13 July to 13 November 1307 in London and in Hereford. The commissioners in charge were William Durand, bishop of Mende; Ralph Baldock, bishop of London; and William de Testa, a papal tax collector. They were well educated and learned in canon law and papal administration. Robert Bartlett, *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 16–21 and 126–38. Writing and open-access publication of this chapter has been funded by The Swedish Literature Society in Finland's *Lived Religion in Medieval Finland* project.

[2] Thomas Cantilupe (1218–82) was a member of England's high nobility. He was an educated man and had studied canon law and theology in Paris and civil law in Orleans. After returning to England, he taught law and theology at the University of Oxford, where he also worked as chancellor. Before achieving the episcopate in 1275, he held several canonries and was an archdeacon in Stanford. He was the bishop of Hereford until his death in 1282. For the details of his life and cult, see Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 [1977]), 135–37 and 173–88, as well as

© SARI KATAJALA-PELTOMAA, 2025 | DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_012
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

could be made. After this he was miraculously revived. He was then taken to Thomas's shrine as a token of gratitude. The gratitude of Nicholas's family was so strong that from that day forward they embarked on an annual pilgrimage to the shrine. The event remained famous enough that the proctor summoned Nicholas's family members to give their testimony during the hearing on the life, merits, and miracles of Thomas Cantilupe.[3]

Focusing primarily on this one case, this chapter seeks to understand how the experience of the miraculous was constructed in a deposition made for a canonization. Lived religion – religion as social process – provides an interpretative frame, while memory and narrative formation offer the specific perspectives through which the research was undertaken. The canonization process of Thomas Cantilupe is eminently suitable for this kind of analysis for its unique character: among medieval canonization processes, it is one of the most, if not the most, judicially accurate hearing containing long and detailed depositions. Several witnesses were interrogated for each case, and we are able to read their version of the event in the form through which they expressed their memories

---

André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988 [1981]), 257, 338, 463. See also the chapter by Adelheid Russenberger in this volume.

[3] The Cantilupe process has not yet been edited; the edited selection of records in AASS Oct. I is not reliable and should not be used as a sole source in an academic work. The records are fully preserved in one manuscript in the Vatican Library (MS Vat. lat. 4015), while miracles scrutinized in the process can also be found in MS Vat. lat. 4017 and Oxford, Exter College Ms 158. The *relatio* of the process is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Vat. lat. 5373A, fols, 66r–126r. The scholarship utilizing this process is, however, quite large; see especially Ronald C. Finucane, "Pilgrimages in Daily Life. Aspects of Medieval Communication Reflected in the Newly Established Cult of Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282), Its Dissemination and Effects upon Outlying Hereford Villagers," in *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), 165–217; Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*; Jussi Hanska, "The Hanging of William Cragh: Anatomy of a Miracle," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 121–38; Bartlett, *The Hanged Man*; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Andrew Fleming, *The Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe and the Politics of Remembrance* (St Edmund Hall: Unprinted PhD in History, 2013); Harriett Webster, "Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe," *Journal of Medieval History* 41.3 (2015): 292–308, DOI: 10.1080/03044181.2015.1048977; Ian Bass, "Communities of Remembrance: Religious Orders and the Cult of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275–82)," *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 7.3 (2018): 237–72, DOI: 10.1484/J.JMMS.5.116571; Ian Bass, "St Thomas de Cantilupe's Welsh Miracles," *Studia Celtica* 53.1 (2019): 83–102, DOI: 10.16922/SC.53.6. See also the collection of essays in Catherine A. M. Clarke, ed., *The St. Thomas Way and the Medieval March of Wales: Exploring Place, Heritage, Pilgrimage*. Series Places and Spaces, Medieval to Modern (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

and constructed their narratives at the inquiry. In Nicholas's case, there were six witnesses: Nicholas himself; his father, Johannes; his mother, Lucia; a neighbor named Cristina; Nicholas's maternal aunt Felicia Morker; and Walterus de Caple, the rector of the church of How Caple.[4]

Several depositions offer a multisided perspective of the case, and the long depositions add further value. The testimonies themselves were guided by the inquisitorial committee's questionnaire, but, unlike in many other contemporary processes, the questionnaire was not formed by either the proctor's *articuli* or the *Interrogatorium*, the papal ruling on questions that would validate the witnesses' quality of knowledge. In the Cantilupe process, by contrast, the list of questions was formed by the commissioners themselves and was, in the end, a mixture of typical *articuli* and *Interrogatorium*. There were only four main *articuli* – on life, *fama*, miracles, and local devotion, respectively – and each contained several sub-questions. The other questions focused on ways of knowing and technical details, as proposed in the papal *Interrogatorium*.[5] In addition to answering to this questionnaire, the witnesses were permitted to narrate their version of the event; this enables comparison between the different perspectives offered during the process.

2 Experience within Lived Religion

"Lived religion," the conceptual frame for this chapter, is an active social process – the things people do, feel, and sense within the field of religion.[6] It is a way to live, interact, and participate in one's community. While lived religion overlaps to some extent with an earlier thematic field known as "popular religion" – such as through rituals, symbols, and performances – it is, however, distinct from it. Popular religion is typically used to denote either the religiosity of the common people or "folkloric" elements in religion;[7] it was predicated on assumptions about the existence of strong polarity and differences between clerical and lay culture. Lived religion starts from entirely different premises. Here, religiosity or culture is not seen as a top-down process or as based on polar opposites. There is no intention to draw a clear distinction between the culture of the elites and that of the lower strata, since saints and miracles were inherent in both theological ponderings and the daily lives of lay Christians. Canonization hearings are by their very nature a nexus of various cultural spheres: theology and canon law as well as hagiography, a literary genre that shaped their content. Members of the educated elite acted as commissioners, but local officials influenced the practicalities. Furthermore, the focus of these hearings was on "ordinary" Christians who were testifying about their miraculous experiences.

---

[4] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 157v–65v.

[5] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 3v. See Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Processes in the Making," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 78–101, for the details of these questions.

[6] On conceptualizations of lived religion, see, for example, Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); John H. Arnold, "Histories and Historiographies of Medieval Christianity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 23–41; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 2–4; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, *Lived Religion and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2021), 1–21.

"Lived religion," as it is conceptualized in this chapter, corroborates the findings of American sociologists of religion who have argued that people never adopt religious systems in their coherent totality or as a given; rather, people choose and perform parts that are suitable for them in their daily life. Thus, lived religion can be understood as religion in action – a dynamic process through which theology and dogma were commingled with elements of daily life. Interaction with a saint offered people a performative space for communal participation and manifestation of their position in it. Lived religion was simultaneously personal and private, on the one hand, and shared, public, and visible to others on the other. Active reminiscing of past divine grace and forming, negotiating, and reshaping narratives of those memories were a crucial way to "live out" one's religion.

When analysing details of lived religion and experiences of the miraculous in a canonization process, it is important to bear in mind that the depositions are not objective replicates or recitals of past events. There were many influences on the final dossier and its contents: the requirements of canon law and the miracle genre, the act of interrogation, the inquisitorial committee's preferences, and the witnesses' recalled memories of the past event and personal rhetorical choices.[8]

---

[7] On the conceptualization of popular religion, see Laura A. Smoller, "'Popular' Religious Culture(s)," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, 340–56. On the historiography of popular culture and popular religion, see Gábor Klaniczay, "'Popular Culture' in Medieval Hagiography and in Recent Historiography," in *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Bologna: Clueb, 2012), 17–44. The strong polarity and differences between clerical and lay culture were stressed by Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), while continuity rather than disjunction is stressed, for example, in Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

This essay begins with the premise that experiences are always mediated.[9] The inextricably intermingled nature of personal piety and memories, cultural conventions, and religious traditions lies at the core of this analysis. The miraculous was experienced as a holistic phenomenon that cut across the individual, communal, and cultural. Here the focus is on the whole process of the miraculous – from that spring Saturday when Nicholas' accident took place to the moment when he and his family testified in front of the papal commissioners, putting their oral narratives and memories into a recorded form.

3 "When We Had That Reddish-Brown Cow with a Star on Its Forehead …": Narrative and Memory Forming the Experience

There is a general consensus among scholars that canonization records tell us about the past in a mediated form, given the processes of selection, reshaping, and molding in their creation.[10] Importantly, not all of the cases or witnesses were accepted for interrogation. For example, in the Cantilupe process the selection criteria were clear and rather strict. More than 450 miracles were written down in the records kept at the shrine, but in the canonization process only approximately 40 were approved for full investigation. The commissioners clearly favored to scrutinize publicly witnessed accidents that resulted in miraculous resurrections for signs of sanctity.[11] Nicholas's case fits into these parameters, but only partially because there were no direct eyewitnesses to his drowning or to the invocation of St. Thomas. Attempts to revive him were also limited to a rather small circle of people.

---

[8] For these methodological issues with references to previous scholarship, see the introduction to the volume.

[9] For a critical view of "simplistic ground of immediacy that fails to register the always already mediated nature of cultural relations and the instability of the subject who is supposedly the bearer of experiences." Martin Jay *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 3. See also Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17.4 (1991): 773–97; and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, "Introduction: Religion as Historical Experience," eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92140-8_1.

[10] For claims made in earlier scholarship about hearing the unmediated, "live" voice of the witnesses – the unprivileged who in other types of sources are nearly mute – see Paolo Mariani, "Racconto spontaneo o memoria construita. Testi a confront in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimoquarto," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 108 (1996): 259–319; and Michael Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 9.

[11] Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles, and Daily Life*, 163. On methods of selection in the case of Vincent Ferrer, see Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Choosing Miracles for Vincent Ferrer,"

In this process, witnesses were also selected carefully beforehand. In addition to the six witnesses specifically interrogated about the drowning and miraculous resurrection of Nicholas Piscatoris, almost 200 other witnesses made depositions during the Cantilupe hearing. Some of the witnesses were interviewed several times, and altogether 223 depositions were recorded in the dossier.[12] Of the 205 witnesses, only 44 were women, and poor people's testimonies were on occasion treated with open suspicion. Canon law raised both gender and poverty as obstacles to those giving testimony. In many instances, a local cleric was interrogated simply to certify the public repute of other witnesses; good reputation was one of the main criteria required by canon law.[13] In Nicholas's case, the cleric Walterus de Caple, rector of the church of How Caple, stated that the witnesses to the case enjoyed good reputations in their parish.[14]

In the Cantilupe process, witnesses were required to reply to a preset list of questions, yet they were also free to form their own narrative of the event.[15] Often several years – and in Nicholas's case, seven or eight years – had passed

---

in *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, eds. Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 75–104.

[12] Identification of witnesses is sometimes unclear due to inconsistent orthography and lack of details. See Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 177; and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 7–8 and 29.

[13] Testimony of witnesses of *infamia* was forbidden. Christian Krötzl, "Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter," in *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Mia Korpiola, Publications of the Matthias Calonius Society 2 (Helsinki: Gummerus, 1999), 19–39, esp. 21–22; Christian Krötzl, "Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen," *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–40, esp. 122–23. Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 65–66. A concrete example in the Cantilupe process is Hugo le Barber testifying to his own miraculous cure of blindness. Since he seemed devote and was already elderly, there was no need to suspect his testimony due to his poverty, as the commissioners estimated. BAV Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 28v–29r.

[14] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 165r.

[15] See Nicole Archambeau, *Souls under Siege: Stories of War, Plague, and Confession in Fourteenth-Century Provence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), 18 et passim for depositions as "crafted narratives," which were repeated yet vivid at the moment of interrogation. See also Laura Ackerman Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 86–93. Cf. Didier Lett, *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen âge. Essai d'histoire sociale*, Le nœud gordien (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 10 and 234–35.

between the incident and the interrogation; this affected the reliability of details offered in the narratives. The act of recording also shaped the depositions. Personal acts, emotions, bodily signs, and sensations are described in the depositions, but primarily only those that were crucial for verifying the miracle. Furthermore, the oral narrative of events given in the vernacular was translated not only into Latin but also into a standardized judicial language by notaries to meet the papal curia's administrative needs.[16] Even with these kinds of "filters" in place between the medieval miraculous experiences and the modern reader, the depositions nevertheless offer an excellent view into lay lived religion.

To analyse the experience of the miraculous, we need to return to that spring Saturday in the Herefordshire village of How Caple. Nicholas, his father, and his mother all began their depositions with details about the cow. For a family of fishmongers, the cow likely was important in an economic sense, and thus these details were remembered eight years later.[17] More importantly, however, the details given about Nicholas searching for a stick to train the untamed animal was the key starting point for the chain of events that followed; it thus acted as a fixed element in recollections of the accident. Storytelling is one way to make memories more persistent, and it seems that the details about the reddish-brown cow had become part of the family memory: an established way to begin the story of Nicholas's accident and his miraculous resurrection. Testimonies about miracles in canonization processes generally were crafted as chronological narratives: they had a starting point, like the accident, and a sequence of events leading to the manifestation of divine grace. The required turning points were the desperate situation beyond human help, the invocation and the vow, the sudden recovery, and the rituals of thanksgiving. Each "stage" also required the production of emotions as active performances: desperation, humility, devotion, and thankfulness.[18] All of the steps were part of the proper performance of and proper narrative about a miraculous recovery. Thus, they were also parts of reliable testimony given in a judicial inquiry.

---

[16] Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident*, 5–6. Laura Ackerman Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54, here 430–31. For standardization of testimonies done by the notaries to turn the spoken recollection into a written judicial deposition, see Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 265.

[17] Ownership of animals, like cows or bulls, can be found as a narrative element in other court records as well. Bronach C. Kane, *Popular Memory and Gender in Medieval England: Men, Women, and Testimony in the Church Courts, c. 1200–1600* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021), 233.

[18] On the emotional stages of a miracle, see Katajala-Peltomaa, *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion*, 85–86.

The hagiographic genre, and more specifically the miracle genre, undoubtedly affected the way witnesses in canonization processes conceptualized their miraculous experience, remembered it, and formed a narrative of it. Modern psychologists working with memory have found similar general trends: when stories of past experiences are created and re-created, culturally available storytelling forms or genres are adopted and adapted.[19] According to Michael Goodich, miracles had achieved the status of literary genre during the Middle Ages, and thus contained institutionalized discursive qualities with both fixed and optional elements. Signposts – a series of customary clichés, as Goodich calls them – helped the participant to recognize an event as a miracle and to formulate a narrative account of it.[20] The contrast is clear, for example, when compared to inquisition trials in which the unfolding of the testimonial narrative tended to be less ordered and chronologically structured, focusing instead only on certain events and details.[21]

So, Nicholas was searching for a stick on his father's boat. Unluckily for him, the wooden deck was slippery and he fell into the water. He could not swim, so he prayed to the Virgin Mary and Saint Thomas for help. Unfortunately, he prayed in his customary way – aloud. When he opened his mouth, he sensed the water flowing in and then he drowned, as he explained at the interrogation. The next thing he remembered was waking up at home. The last question the commissioners asked, since Nicholas looked faint, was whether he was as healthy after the accident as he had been before it. Nicholas replied no, explaining that before drowning he neither felt burdened nor had a weight on his heart, as he currently did. The commissioners added their estimation of his character at the end of his deposition: the boy was simple-minded – *simplex erat multum*.[22]

---

[19] Alistair Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Richie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 78–95.

[20] Michael Goodich, "Filiation and Form in the Late Medieval Miracle Story," in idem, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 307–9. On typical elements of a miracle narrative, see also Gábor Klaniczay, "Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts: The Construction of the Miracle," in *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies: Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 207–23, esp. 211–14. Both Goodich and Klaniczay have used the analytical categories of folktale proposed by Vladimir Propp as the basis of their categorization. These categorizations have not, however, taken into account the role of memory and reminiscing in the construction of miracle narratives.

[21] For a comparison of these processes and inquisitorial methods in canonization hearings, see Gábor Klaniczay, "The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 43–74. See also Saku Pihko's chapter in this volume.

The word “simplex” may have been a reference to the physical and cognitive results of his drowning, but Nicholas was not the only witness assigned this label during the Cantilupe process. Some first-hand witnesses were also described similarly. This does not seem to have been a problem if these witnesses provided a coherent narrative of past events that was corroborated by other witnesses and that fit the inquisitorial committee’s expectations.[23]

Details were important for creating a proper, trustworthy testimony. The years that had passed between the event and the interrogation may have wiped specific details from memory, leaving some witnesses unable to measure up to the standards of the inquisitorial committee. The depositions in canonization processes typically do not offer information on how the memories were shaped, and the amount of free narrative varied from one canonization process to another. Sometimes the narrative of the miraculous cure was already offered in the *articulus*, and thus was created before the interrogation. The witness at the interrogation could then mainly corroborate that narrative or admit that they did not know all the details.[24] In other cases, the interrogation dialogue is blurred in the dossier and several testimonies are recorded together in a synthesis. The meticulous recording methods used in the Cantilupe process, by contrast, offer a glimpse into how the recollections were turned into a narrative.

Memories or experiences do not exist in solitude, outside of the community and broader culture, as surrounding values are internalized and utilized to give meaning to past events. Furthermore, cultural ideas and beliefs, circulating narratives, and even the experiences of others can be incorporated into autobiographical memories. This sometimes happens without one being aware of the process. Consensus within a community, such as belief in the supernatural protective powers of the local intercessor, increases the probability of such processes taking place.[25] Instead of “authentic” memories and experiences becoming muddled with traditions and social norms, the latter are – to a certain point – internalized and a natural part of the personal experience. A deposition made at a canonization hearing thus can be seen as a multi-authored narrative: Nicholas' personal perspective embodied narratives of his own memories mixed with the demands of the miracle genre, the preset questions asked by the inquisitorial committee, and, finally, the act of recording the narrative in a preestablished format and style.[26]

---

[22] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 158v.

[23] For example, in the drowning of Johannes Drake, the father was also described as “valde simplex homo,” BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 142v, but his testimony was accepted, while the testimony of Iuliana de Lude, who was described as simple-minded and oblivious, was cut short, fol. 219v.

[24] See, however, the chapter of Laura Ackerman Smoller in this volume for witnesses’ ability to add personal details in their depositions in this kind of hearings.

[25] Vladimír Bahna, “Memorates and Memory: A Re-evaluation of Lauri Honko’s Theory,” *Temenos* 51.1 (2015): 7–23, compares ethnographic theory of “memorate,” a personal experience narrative, and psychological understanding of autobiographical memory; it argues

Individuality nevertheless is part of the narrated experience in a deposition. This is clear, for example, in one of the last questions posed to Nicholas. The commissioners wanted to know whether he saw someone or something as he was drowning. Plausibly, this was a way of asking whether he had seen a vision of the rescuing saint without putting direct words into his mouth. A saint saving a drowning person underwater was a topos from late antiquity, while visions of saints were part of the hagiographic genre in general. These literary models could have been internalized to the point that they became elements of lived religion. In the Cantilupe process, several beneficiaries testified to seeing a vision of a saintly figure during their miraculous experience.[27]

At the time of his accident, Nicholas was an eight-year-old boy and may have been too young to form a narrative that included a vision immediately after the accident, but such elements may have become part of his later narrative.[28] A similar case can be seen with Adam de Kylpek's miraculous recovery from blindness. He was only five when he was cured at the shrine

---

for plasticity of human autobiographical memory and the role of cultural transmission creating it.

[26] Michael Goodich calls these "layers" concentric circles, each circle adding new authors participating in the composition. Goodich, "Filiation and Form," 306–7. See also Klaniczay, "Ritual and Narrative," 211–12. On possible moulding done by the notaries, see Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 265. See also Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 430–31. On narratological analysis of court records of witchcraft trials, see Raisa Toivo and Liv Helene Willumsen, "A Narratological Approach to Witchcraft Trial Records: Creating Experience," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 47.1 (2022): 39–61, DOI: 10.1080/03468755.2021.2014953.

[27] Visions were a complicated matter; they could certify the performer of the miracle, but there was no way of certifying the vision itself. They gave a lot of autonomy and initiative to lay visionaries and could be troublesome for the clergy controlling the saint's cult. See Jonas Van Mulder, "The Prosaic Supernatural: Representation and Function of Lay Visionary Experience in Miracle Collections from the Low Countries," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 257–83, and Jonas Van Mulder, "The Mobilization of Thought: A Narratological Approach to Representations of Dream and Vision in Late Medieval Miracle Collections in Low Countries," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 299–326.

[28] See Bahna, "Memorates and Memory," for personal experience narrative borrowing from cultural tradition.

of Thomas Cantilupe. Yet, a key part of his miracle narrative was the vision of a man touching the boy's eyes with his priestly clothes, which cured him. This was a well-known detail and still mentioned by several witnesses nearly twenty years after the incident. An important role in the formation of that narrative was played by dominus Gilbertus, then the shrine's custodian. He had prepared a bed for Adam, who spent some nights at the shrine hoping for a recovery. The vision took place on the third night. According to Gilbertus, Adam had shouted at dawn that a man had appeared to him. This man was dressed in clothes similar to those of the boy's late uncle, a priest.[29]

Gilbertus was a cleric, and his corroboration validated both the detail and the vision.[30] Nicholas's case, by contrast, took place at home among lay witnesses. Another detail may have also helped in creating Adam's vision and his ability to remember the details later on: his uncle had just been buried in priestly clothes. This event undoubtably enabled Adam to envision such a thing in the first place and helped him to remember the details later. Indeed, Margeria, Adam's mother, offered a more detailed testimony of the vision than the visionary himself did, even though she had not accompanied her son to the shrine.[31]

A living memory of the event in question was a prerequisite for a case to be interrogated and witnesses to be summoned; there needed to be an element of public fame concerning the event before it could be investigated and recorded in an *inquisitio*-type hearing. Accidents and subsequent recoveries were obviously memorable events, all the more so if the victim was deemed dead and the resurrection was interpreted as divine grace. Memory is a crucial constituent of the experience; it gives meaning to the present – much like Nicholas's simple-mindedness. Memory also guides anticipation for the future, like the Piscatoris family's ongoing pilgrimages. Experience of the miraculous thus requires more than individual reminiscence of the event. Memories constantly interact with the surrounding society's cultural values, such as perceptions of saints and miracles.[32] Therefore, we may partly agree with Didier Lett, who claims that social dominion is prevalent in the depositions.[33] This does not mean that personal memories cannot be traced, but rather that it is impossible to draw a distinct line between the personal and the social – memories are not static but repeatedly constructed.[34]

---

[29] "circa auroram dictus Adam in predicto lecto clamantem et dicentem quod quidam vir indutus talibus vestibus quales habebat quidam presbyter eiusdem Ade avunculus quando fuit cum ipsius vestibus sepultus." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 237v.

[30] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 237v. Other witnesses corroborated: "Et publice ac communiter referebatur eundem Adam habuisse nescit quam visionem prope tumulum." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 237r.

[31] According to Margeria, the clothes were "vestes presbytales albas cum cruce ante et retro," while Adam himself stated only that the figure was "hominem indutum sicut indutur sacerdotes vestibus albis." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 235r and 235v.

In the case of the Piscatoris family, the construction of memories occurred through repeated narratives as well as bodily actions in the form of pilgrimages. Shared remembering created a shared comprehension of the event: the participants shared a similar set of cultural tools – rituals and narratives – that made the remembering collective. Memories of Nicholas's miraculous resurrection were a process: the details of importance were negotiated and contested but also reinforced by repeated rituals. The miracle of Nicholas was well known in the area, and many witnesses testified. Walterus de Caple, the rector of the parish church, was also familiar with the case, having commonly heard of the incident, as he testified, even if he was still studying in Canterbury at the time it took place.[35]

4 Interaction with the Saint

Meanwhile, on that spring Saturday, back in the village of How Caple, Johannes and Lucia were not alarmed when Nicholas failed to return; they thought he had gone to play with his friends after taking care of the task assigned to him. They learned what had happened only hours later when a beggar's child informed them. The child had been on the other side of the river with his mother, and they had seen what happened. Delivering the message to Nicholas's parents took time. Together with Cristina and Felicia, the other witnesses to the case, the parents ran to the river and discovered a lump of clothes in the water. They understood that it was Nicholas. According to Johannes and Lucia's depositions, they collapsed to the ground and nearly lost consciousness due to the pain of losing their son. Someone needed to sprinkle water on their faces to help them recover.

---

[32] Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History"; and Donald A. Richie, "Can Memory Be Collective?" in Richie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, 96–111.

[33] Lett, *Un procès de canonisation*, 10 and 234–35.

[34] Collective memory is a form of memory that is shared by a group and of central importance to the social identity of the group's members. See James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III, "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches," *Memory* 16.3 (2008): 318–26, DOI: 10.1080/09658210701801434; Henry L. Roediger III and Magdalena Abel, "Collective Memory: A New Arena of Cognitive Study," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 19.1 (2015): 359–61; Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell, "Introduction: Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives," in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Jacob Climo and Maria Cattell (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002), 1–36; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). The seminal works in the field of social memory are Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), and Elisabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[35] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 165r.

Desperation before divine help was a prerequisite for a miracle; it was a part of the miracle process and an indispensable part of the proper narrative. Obviously, despair and anguish are quite normal at the scene of an accident, yet they needed to be expressed in a suitable mode at an interrogation. Collapsing to the ground, and especially the father losing consciousness, stands out as quite an extreme way of laying the foundation for a miracle. Both parents described the situation vividly: they explained that their intestines were shaken (*commotis visceribus*), which caused their collapse. Lucia added that this emotional upheaval was due to her motherhood.[36] While the signs of desperation at the accident scene were part of the miracle genre in general, these narrative elements could be expressed in a very personal way.

The entire group involved in Nicholas's death was teary-eyed and invoked Saint Thomas to resurrect him. The mother touched the boy's face and mouth to check if he was breathing. Nicholas's eyes were open but unmoving. He did not breathe and his limbs were cold and rigid like wood. He gritted his teeth tightly. Cristina made similar observations. Johannes tried to open Nicholas' teeth and mouth with his knife but could not – the boy was dead, as Cristina rather bluntly noted. To touch a victim of drowning may be a quasi-automatic reflex: to discern the situation, check if something could be done. For the witnesses closest to Nicholas, it was also a way to concretize and comprehend what had happened: the rigid limbs and tightly gritted teeth created a lasting mental image, one that could be repainted at an official hearing years later. Emotional arousal may have helped them to remember these details, but at the same time they generated a feeling of reliability for the testimony.[37]

---

[36] "ipsa testis videns dictum filium suum mortuum commotis maternis visceribus fuit quasi ex animis collapsa in terram." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 161r; "ipse testis post eam dolorem facere nequintes commotis visceribus collapsi fuissent ad terram quasi ex animes et demum perfusi aquam infacie ad se ipsos redussent," fol. 159r.

[37] Psychologists argue that memories of events that involve emotional arousal tend to be more vivid and detailed. When narrated, they generate a feeling of reliability; at the same time, though, this kind of memory is more liable to include misinformation. Bahna, "Memorates and Memory," 7–23.

The commissioners were not interested in the emotions for the sake of empathy or sensory experiences at the scene of the accident as such. Rather, the signs of death were important for validating the miracle: they certified that Nicholas had been truly dead before the divine intervention.

At this point Lucia took a piece of thread from her purse and measured her child for Saint Thomas, asking him to bring Nicholas back to life so that they would not have to suffer the scandal of raising the hue and cry.[38] Measuring was a concrete yet ritualistic act: victims were measured for the saint so that a wax image or a candle of desired size could be made. The ritual communicated an unspoken promise to take this wax image to the shrine; in other words, it was a promise to undertake a pilgrimage with an oblation.[39] The hue and cry, *hutesium id est clamore*, in turn, was a legal obligation for the founder of a person accidentally killed or a murder victim. The hue and cry notified other members of the community; hence, they knew to come to the accident scene and fetch the coroners.[40] This detail in the depositions also served to certify the state of affairs – Nicholas was truly dead. Simultaneously, her emotional response – not only sorrow but also the sense of shame – was meaningful for Lucia; they were individual elements of her later reminiscing and construction of the experience. Other witnesses mentioned neither this reasoning nor the detail as part of their recollections.

Invoking a saint in a moment of despair is one way in which religion was lived out in daily life, but the depositions are not unanimous about the rituals. Cristina claimed that it was she and Felicia Morker, not Lucia, who measured Nicholas for Saint Thomas. They not only invoked Saint Thomas but also prayed to the Virgin Mary with her child to console them in their sorrow over losing Nicholas. The witnesses agreed, however, that all the participants prayed – on their knees with tears in their eyes (*flexis genibus cum lacrimis*) – for the boy's recovery. Obviously, tearful prayers and invocations are a sign of devotion and spirituality, but they also illuminate the social aspects of religion: they may have been the only remedial option available to the parents and the others. In other words, they were a coping mechanism that offered hope and consolation. Such ritual expressions manifested not only personal emotions but also social expectations.[41]

---

[38] "… quod non paterentur cum scandalo eorum levari hutesium," BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 161v.

[39] Wax images and pilgrimages were the most typical counter gifts mentioned in the depositions at canonization processes and can regularly be found across various parts of Europe. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 21–45.

[40] Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 11–12.

Contradictory details are not exceptional in depositions. Individuals tend to stress their own role when retelling memories. This may have been done on purpose because of vanity, but often it was unintentional.[42] However, contradictions may also point to the way a miracle was comprehended, and the invocation as a crucial element became part of individual personal memories. Attention was paid to this detail in the hearing since, in the judicial context, it held fundamental value: it validated the performer of the miracle and the legitimate means of invocation. The person invoking the saint and their words of invocation, the people present, and the witnesses' way of knowing these details were all part of the basic formula of the *Interrogatorium*.[43]

The invocation details were important for canonization processes and were often recorded in a mode of direct quotation and first-person speech.[44] The customary way of invoking Saint Thomas, however, was the measuring ritual. As a result, direct quotations of invocation were not regularly recorded in the Cantilupe process. The legitimacy of invocation was nevertheless important, and the commissioners wanted to certify certain essential details. In addition to the details of the drowning and recovery, the details of the invocation ritual itself were interrogated to determine whether some sort of fraud had taken place in the miracle, and whether in Nicholas's recovery demons were invoked, or incantations or superstitious things or sorcery performed. Even this was not enough: the commissioners continued to ask whether natural or artificial help was used around the time of the miracle. The witnesses all replied in the negative, with his father explaining that Nicholas was rescued only by divine grace operating through the merits of Saint Thomas.[45]

---

[41] On common kneeling, BAV Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 128r; fol. 138r; fol. 145r.

[42] On similar discrepancies in the testimonies of canonization hearings, see Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," and Hanska, "The Hanging of William Cragh," 121–38.

[43] "ad cuius inuocationem et quibus verbis interpositis," Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 539, with the commentary, 337–41; see also Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Christian Krötzl, "Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material," in Krötzl and Katajala-Peltomaa, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes*, 1–39.

[44] Direct quotations can be found even in cases where the witnesses do not include the beneficiary himself. They could have been hagiographic reformulations and not direct evidence of past speech acts. See Gábor Klaniczay, "Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 365–95; and Klaniczay, "Ritual and Narrative."

[45] "Item requisites si circa operacionem dicti miraculi intervenerunt fraus vel dolus aut machinacio aliquius ut dictus Nicholas fingeretur submersus mortuus vel resuscitatus

The prayers at the riverbank proved to be futile. Nicholas was carried home and his parents started preparations for the funeral. Johannes wanted to shut the boy's eyes – it would not be good to bury him with the eyes open, he estimated. While he was doing so, though, Nicholas cried out for help.[46] Lucia declared that her drowned son twice shouted "Dulcis domina, adiuva, sancte Thoma, adiuva." The commissioners considered these words to be so important that they wanted further clarification, asking which lady she thought the boy meant. Lucia replied that he had invoked the Lady of Heaven, since it was a local tradition to plead for the Holy Virgin's help using those words.[47]

Obviously, the first signs of life were a crucial turning point. They were a vital element in the memories that constructed the miraculous experience and thus an essential part of the narratives of those memories. Indeed, each of the eyewitnesses remembered and mentioned them, and they all claimed that they were present at this critical moment and heard those words. However, Lucia and Johannes, Nicholas's mother and father, insisted that they were alone at the time of his revival. Likely, this turning point in the miracle process had become such a fixed element in the narrative that people who may have only heard about it second-hand remembered it as a part of their personal experience. This detail and these words were eminently important in the judicial context, too; they thus were recorded verbatim and helped to validate both the performer of the miracle and the actual invocation.

5 Corporeal Memories

While there clearly was a collective memory of Nicholas's accident and miraculous resurrection, the narratives offered at the interrogation reveal fractures in the remembering of it: the experience was at the same time shared but colored with individual details. Each of the participants presented a coherent chronological narrative of the chain of events and their own interpretation of them. They did not present contradicting views about the elements that constructed

---

et non fuisset et si fuerunt pro eius resuscitacione demones invocati vel incantaciones vel supersticiones vel sortilegia facta aut si res naturales aliquid vel artificiales cooperate fuerunt circa miraculum predictum." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 160v. In the preset list of questions, the use of herbs, stones or other natural or medicinal things was interrogated as well as the use of incantations, superstitious means, or frauds. For the list of questions, see fols. 4v–5r and for the translation of them Katajala-Peltomaa and Kuuliala, "Practical Matters," 100–1.

[46] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fols. 159v, 161v, 163r, and 164v.

[47] BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 162v.

a miracle: signs or duration of death or the entity invoked. The witnesses did, however, personalize the occurrence by emphasizing different details and their own role in them. Cristina and Nicholas's parents disagreed about who did the measuring and who was present at scene of resurrection. Similar discrepancies can be found in descriptions of the rituals of thanksgiving.

Interaction with a saint can be seen as gift exchange. While praying for help, the petitioner makes a vow, a binding promise to offer something to the heavenly intercessor in exchange for a recovery or rescue. In the Cantilupe process, the vow was often implicit and took the form of a measuring ritual. A counter-gift was an important element in the interaction with a saint: it was a way to negotiate with the heavenly intercessor, to thank him or her for the recovery and to manifest gratitude. It also enabled an independent religious action, since theology and church teachings did not dictate directly how a saint's favor should be pleaded for or rewarded. Votive offerings thus can be interpreted as a way to personalize religion. The church *did* regulate the interaction with a saint, however, demanding that a promise made to a saint be made good. To leave a vow unfulfilled was a sin. Since all offerings demanded time, effort, and money, promises to a saint should not be given lightly. In addition to theology and personal taste, local custom also dictated a major part of the interaction.

In Nicholas's case, the pilgrimage seems to have formed the most crucial part of the counter-gift, and its description is particularly detailed. Nicholas's family embarked on a journey to the shrine after a few days – "next Tuesday," as they all mentioned – once Nicholas was strong enough to travel. Indeed, young Nicholas traveling a distance of six *miliaria* (ca. 9 kilometres or 5.5 miles) after a near-death experience was considered to be further proof of the miracle. Nicholas's parents informed their neighbors immediately after his recovery, and some – or many – of them accompanied them on the pilgrimage.[48]

Cristina saw the thanksgiving ritual in a different light. She not only emphasized the community's role but also gave the joint pilgrimage a ritualistic nature. Cristina claimed that all the local parishioners accompanied the parents to the shrine after the miracle, implying that it was a collective performance.[49] She likewise stated that Nicholas was taken to the shrine

---

[48] "ipse Nicholas, propris pedibus cum patre et matre ipsius et aliis viciniis venit ad tumulum dicti domini Thome." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 160r; "venit cum patre et matre et cum aliis multis peditando," fol. 162r.

[49] "ipsa Cristina et communiter totus populus dicte parochie venerunt processionaliter sicut venire consueverant aliis annis dicto Nicholao in processione existente […] ad ecclesiam Herefordensis." BAV MS Vat. lat. 4015, fol. 163v.

processionaliter. Processions were a widespread form of devotion but did not represent spontaneous expressions of religious fervor because they required prior planning. Furthermore, processions were not led by lay people but rather by clerical authorities who took the initiative to organize them. Processions typically took place on certain feast days or in order to placate God in the face of a natural disaster, like drought or flooding. It seems likely that no official procession was organized in the parish of How Caple to give thanks for Nicholas's miracle. The miracle itself took place on the day before Pentecost, and officially ordained processions generally took place on Rogation Days, which fell close to Pentecost – and thus to this pilgrimage for Thomas.[50] It is possible that a common procession was an annual habit in the parish, as Cristina described, but Cristina may have mixed up two different occasions.

Cristina also may have been a bit careless in her wording or unable to express the religious event accurately. It seems that official ceremonies were part of the pilgrimage, but they took place at the shrine and not in the parish. Once the pilgrims reached Hereford Cathedral, the canons questioned them. Then, the bells chimed, people were called into the cathedral, and, according to Lucia, a procession was made and the miracle published. Nichols was presented to the people at the shrine as a token of the miracle. All those present hearing this and seeing Nicholas then glorified God and Saint Thomas, as the depositions state.

Having this moment in the spotlight in the cathedral amidst the benevolent attention of local clergy was likely a memorable event for a family of fishmongers. Furthermore, the proceedings at the shrine certified their experience: Nicholas was indeed miraculously resurrected and a beneficiary of divine grace. These details had a similar function for the inquisitorial committee: an increase in devotion was an indispensable outcome of a genuine miracle. The entire congregation glorifying God served as validation, and these details were duly recorded in the depositions. The narrative elements of personal reminiscing and judicial significance corroborated each other in the construction of an experience of the miraculous.

Pilgrimages were an essential element within lived religion: they offered a way to interact with the heavenly intercessor and to participate – and even to take an initiative – in religion. When connected to a miracle, they were a corporeal way to tell of the experience to the surrounding community and to the pilgrims themselves, too. As bodily practices, they were highly personal yet visible and public at the same time.[51] Travel to the sacred place was an opportunity to reminiscence about the grace gained – sensory perception is important in forming and reinforcing memories – but pilgrimages as public rituals served also to anchor the date in collective memory.[52] Pilgrims themselves were tokens of gratitude and mementoes of divine grace, especially if the ritual was repeated annually, as it was by the Piscatoris family. According to Lucia, the entire family engaged in commemorative rituals after the revival: they made a pilgrimage once a year to the shrine of Saint Thomas. The repeated pilgrimage created an emotional tie to the past and bridged the past and the present. For Nicholas, Johannes, and Lucia, the annual pilgrimage was a way to live out their religion, to reminiscence and negotiate the meaning of their experience. Indeed, Nicholas may have been simple-minded, weak, and fragile, as defined by the inquisitorial committee, but he was also alive and participated in the rituals with his parents. He was a living heir in a society of high child mortality and a beneficiary of divine grace, a miraculé.

---

[50] Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages*, Studia Fennica Historica 2 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002), 33–41 and 49–63. The rituals of Rogation Day were to secure harvest to gain a prosperous year. The feast of Milburga, which Nicholas mentioned in his deposition, is 23 February; thus, he likely did not have the timing right.

6 Conclusion

The depositions given in canonization processes reflect the participants' way of living out their religion; they shed light on devotional practices, the production of emotions and narratives of faith. The commingling of spirituality and social needs – the core of lived religion – is evident, for example, in the methods of resolving a difficulty: Nicholas prayed twice for help from the Virgin Mary and Thomas Cantilupe: immediately after he fell into the water, and then again at the moment of recovery. The other participants resorted to heavenly help as well, measuring the drowned boy for Saint Thomas – even if the situation seemed to be beyond help. After Nicholas's recovery, pilgrimage to the sacred place became part of their coping mechanism, a way to manifest their gratitude and to offer a counter-gift to the saint. For the Piscatoris family, this was not a one-time event but instead a permanent part of their relationship with the local heavenly patron. The repeated rituals and perpetual devotion were their way of living out their religion and reliving their memory of Nicholas's miracle.

---

[51] Pilgrimages were a persistent practice within Christianity and had multiple functions during the Middle Ages. The scholarship dedicated to them is vast. On their interconnection to miracles, see Lee Ann Craig, "Pilgrimage as Feature of Miracles," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 164–85; and Christian Krötzl, "Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance," in *Miracle et Karāma*, ed. Denise Aigle, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses 109; Hagiographies médiévales comparées 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 557–76.

[52] On religious feasts and pilgrimages as markers of memory, see Kane, *Popular Memory and Gender*, 11; the role of senses to create memories was acknowledged in the learned treatises of the era and embodied experiences were seen as a means to remember the past: 83–85.

Memory of the incident lived on in the community. It was so well known that the local priest was familiar with it even though he was not present in the parish when the accident occurred. The depositions offer a glimpse into the way memories of the incident may have lingered on. An important aspect of this was undoubtedly the repeated pilgrimages; as public deeds they were visible to other community members, a constant reminder of the incident and an emblem of the Piscatoris family's identity as beneficiaries of divine grace. Religion-in-action entailing both faith and practice guided the activities, directed their interpretation, and offered a rationale and justification for the event.

As collective reminiscing, narratives that were repeated time and again were also part of the experience. They seem to have some fixed elements at the family level, like the reddish-brown cow, the primus motor of the chain of events. Nevertheless, it is more than likely that the memories of that spring Saturday altered as the years passed. Memories do not stay the same; rather, as memory studies in the field of psychology claim, we recreate our memories each time we reminiscence and narrate them. Narrative tradition, in turn, influences an individual's memories and enables cultural transmission for and within personal experience. The meaning of the experience was negotiated and recreated by the family that narrated the event and embarked regularly on a pilgrimage, as well as by the community that kept the memory alive and participated in spreading information about the event. The entire Christian culture contributed in creating the experience of the miraculous by providing the framework and significance for the chain of events.

Depositions cannot reveal the immediacy of experiences, but they offer an excellent window into internalized cultural conventions and the various negotiations of giving meaning. Reminiscing about a past event was also part of religion in action for the Piscatoris family; it was a way to renegotiate and affirm the experience. The experience of the miraculous in the depositions comes forth as a shared social phenomenon cutting across the individual, the communal, and the cultural.

CHAPTER 11

Scent, Sight, Awe: Examining the Bodily Signs of Sainthood in the Canonization Processes of Dominican Saints

Marika Räsänen

1 Introduction[1]

This chapter considers the ways in which senses were involved in the processes to create, recognize, and propagate the presence of holiness in the bodies of Dominican candidates for sainthood after their death. In late medieval culture, as well as subsequently, certain signs of the body, attested either in the moment of death or days, even years later, were regarded as important testimony to the person's sainthood. My aim is to tackle these signs and analyse their materiality as well as their sensory perception in the light of the canonization testimonies. The approach takes advantage of the diversity of witnesses and their accounts from different cultural contexts around the place of death of such a person. As a result, the chapter presents various ways of "measuring" the sainthood of a saint-candidate by senses and analyses how in juridical processes the describing sensory experiences played an instrumental role in examining a special body behind such the topoi, and in some sense the generalizations, as the *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptum*, often connected in hagiographical narrations of saints' lives.

According to Bradford A. Bouley, the uncorrupted body had become mainstream in late medieval canonization cases. Examining bodies was based mostly on sensory observations until a Spanish canon law specialist named Francisco Peña (ca. 1540–1612) saw a need to reform canonization processes in the early seventeenth century. Peña required the body to undergo an examination by medical experts, the requirement of which signified that the testimonies on the state of bodies of religious or lay people was no longer enough for the official canonization.[2] Bouley tends to emphasize a more drastic change in

---

[1] Writing of this chapter has been funded by The Finnish Research Council, the project (no. 349210) *Rethinking the Late Medieval Relic, c. 1200–1550*.

[2] Bradford A. Bouley, "Roman Medicine, Papal Power, and the Making of Spanish Saints," *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 13.1 (2016): 131–48, esp. 137 and 139. Bouley clarifies that

© MARIKA RÄSÄNEN, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_013

the canonization process than a medievalist might do. He clarifies that for Peña, as for his predecessors, sweet odors of the body without any physicist's survey were a sign that the person in question lived in God.

Bouley does not seem to value highly the meticulous examinations, often carried out by medieval monks, friars, priests, and other religious people, who certainly also were professionals of the human body from both a physical and a spiritual perspective.[3] Already in the late Middle Ages there were medical experts involved in the canonization processes, although their role was not so much to examine saintly bodies as it was to assess those seeking healing for their illnesses from a saint.[4] In any case, these medical practitioners relied on their senses in examining bodies and signs of sickness or health in a manner similar to that of the priests who arrived to offer the last rites to the dying.[5] In this chapter, the focus is on the depositions of those religious professionals as eyewitnesses, on their observations, whether they were systematic or unorganized, and on the question of how the senses, especially smell, sight, and touch, along with sensory reactions, functioned in identifying and measuring saintly bodies in medieval canonization processes. Emotive reactions, such as fear,

---

although the uncorrupted body was important to Peña and was a clear sign of sainthood, he did not mention medical examination in any of the lives he wrote (these also include the Life of Raymond Peñafort). Instructions for such examinations are given in his inquisitorial manual. Bouley presents more a comprehensive picture of the work of early modern physicians in canonization processes in his other article, see Bradford Bouley, "Negotiated Sanctity: Incorruption, Community, and Medical Expertise," *The Catholic Historical Review* 102 (2016): 1–25.

[3] In the thirteenth century, for example, rich theological debates on the fate of the body in the afterlife, including the body's physical aspects, took place. See Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Death and the Human Body in the Late Middle Ages: The Legislation of Boniface VIII on the Division of the Corpse," *Viator* XII (1981): 221–70, and from the same author "Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France," *French Historical Studies* 16.4 (1990): 803–32. Moreover, they were exactly priests who were at the sickbed evaluating the sickness, its odors and other signs, whether they were deadly or not, and whether there was a moment for the last rites. Moreover, the priests were professionals to observe, act and judge whether the death was good or bad. See Katharine Park, "Birth and Death," in *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Medieval Age*, ed. Linda Kalof (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 17–37. See also Jyrki Nissi's chapter in this volume on priests' acts at the sickbed.

[4] Pierre-André Sigal, "La mort des saints dans les Vies et les procès de canonisation du Midi de la France (XI^e^–XIV^e^ siècle)," in *La mort et l'au-dela en France meridionale (XII^e^–XV^e^ siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 33 (Toulouse: Privat, 1998), 17–40; Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 12.2 (1999): 191–225.

[5] Richard Palmer, "In Bad Odour: Smell and Its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century," in *Medicine and the Five Senses*, eds. W. F. Bynum and Ray Porter. First paperback edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 61–68.

doubt, amazement, and admiration, of witnesses in perceiving dead bodies may also have been taken to be valuable signs in "measuring" possible sainthood under the juridical valuation in the papal curia.

The moment of a saint-candidate's death and bodily signs have received much attention in medieval studies, largely through saints' *vitae*.[6] The *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptum* were traditional literary motifs in hagiographical writing, but by the thirteenth century observations regarding bodies became also a part of the canonization testimonies. Hagiographical research quite often lumps together these signs and may even pass over these phenomena, noting their stereotypical character without more profound contextualizing. Very recently, Romedio Schmitz-Esser has shown us in his thorough study of the medieval corpse the benefits that analysis of the *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptum* as independent signs can offer in observing also their occasional inconsistency in relation to one another.[7]

This chapter continues the path of acknowledging the juridical and systematic methods that directed medieval canonization processes. I do not focus on a moment of an individual's death, a theme that already has a rich research tradition, but on events that occurred hours, days, or even months and years later, when the bodies came under (re)examination.[8] In my opinion, senses, sensory reactions, and emotions are not yet fully credited in research as a medieval method of investigating, measuring, and evaluating the signs of holiness in human bodies and the ways in which this information was used in juridical canonization processes.[9] For this reason, sensual and emotional concepts, utilized as analytical tools from a medieval perspective, may offer us a new angle for understanding canonization processes and legal culture at large.[10] At the very least, studying the processes aimed at conducting the official canonization of a candidate may offer us a more nuanced picture than earlier studies on the efficacy of senses and emotions in making the new saints. The seventeenth century may have established a medical examination of bodies of saint-candidates, but a meticulous professional study of sick, dying, or dead bodies was clearly a part of medieval canonization processes, as this and other chapters of the volume at hand show.

---

[6] To mention a few crucial scholars in this field, and their studies: Jacques Dalarun, "La mort des saints fondateurs de Martin a François," in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental* (*III*e–*XIII*e *siècle*), Collection de l'École française de Rome 149 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), 161–72; Michael Goodich, "The Death of a Saint: A Hagiographical Topos," in *Hoping for Continuity, Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and Middle Ages*, eds. Katariina Mustakallio et al., Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 33 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2005), 227–38; Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michel Lauwers, "La mort et le corps des saints. La scene de la mort dans les *Vitae* du haut Moyen Âge," *Le Moyen Âge* 94 (1988): 21–50; Sigal, "La mort des saints."

[7] Romedio Schmitz-Esser, *The Corpse in the Middle Ages: Embalming, Cremating, and the Cultural Construction of the Dead Body* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020). Especially on odors and sanctity, Martin Roch, "The 'Odor of sanctity': Defining Identity and Alterity in the Early Middle Ages (Fifth to Ninth Century)," in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and Cult of Saints*, eds. Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, Bibliotheca Hagiotheca, Series Colloquia 1 (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010), 73–87, and from the same author, "Il Miracolo nell'alto Medioevo. Il caso dell'odore soave dei santi, tra testi e contesti," in *Miracolo! Emozione, spettacolo e potere nella storia dei cecoli XIII–XVII*, eds. Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: SISMEL, 2019), 99–116.

[8] Goodich, "The Death of a Saint"; Sigal, "La mort des saints"; Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints." Most recently, see Jyrki Nissi, "The Communality of Death and Dying in 15th Century Europe: Evidence of Miracle Narratives and Ars Moriendi Guidebooks," Tampere University Dissertations 439 (Tampere University, 2021).

2 Dominican Research Context and Sources

Taking Dominican saints and investigations of their holiness as research material might sound paradoxical a priori. The Order of Preachers, in its early years, has been interpreted as opposing its own saints. This interpretation is taken quite literally by many scholars from the early hagiographies and canonization testimonies of Dominic of Guzman, the founding father of the Order of Preachers.[11] The early writers give a picture of the almost forgotten tomb and body in the years following Dominic's death at the Dominican convent of Bologna in 1221. Some twelve years later, there was a complete turnaround: Dominican eyewitnesses eagerly report powerful sensory experiences they had in relation to Dominic's tomb when it was opened in 1233. Dominic became the first canonized saint of the Order in 1234, and his canonization forms a natural focal point of my survey. Alongside Dominic's case, I will analyse testimonies for Thomas Aquinas's process in 1319 as the closest follow-up to saint Dominic.[12]

---

[9] Mark M. Smith emphasizes the significance of "sensory turn" in history during the latest two decades and gives a special prominence to smell as something on which the historians have focused extensively only in recent years. See Mark M. Smith, "Editor's Introduction," in *Smell and History: A Reader*, ed. Mark M. Smith (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2018), IX–XXIV.

[10] According to many scholars in the field of the "humanistic sensory studies," the sensory approach is burgeoning, but to my opinion this is not yet the case with the studies of canonization processes. For example, Woolgar refers only in passing in two or three sentences to the canonization inquiry of Thomas Cantilupe, when pinpointing themes of medieval smellscape, and leaving the juridical approach to the senses completely open, C. M. Woolgar, "Medieval Smellscapes," in Smith, *Smell and History*, 50–75, esp. 56. Interesting opening to the combination of hagiographical and archeological material in relation to smells is Paul Brazinski and Allegra Fryxell, "The Smell of Relics: Authenticating Saintly Bones and the Role of Scent in the Sensory Experience of Medieval Christian Veneration," *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 23 (1 September 2013). I am following the medieval concepts of aroma, for instance, in a way presented already in hagiographical studies, a good example being Roch, "Il Miracolo nell'alto Medioevo."

[11] The idea that this reluctance originated from the Dominicans' rejection of the cult of Dominic and his relics seems to derive especially from Jordan of Saxony's *Libellus de principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum* (ca. 1234), and similar reluctance is claimed to have been

My hypothesis is that notwithstanding possible criticism among the friars, some models of examining, understanding, handling, and promoting Dominican corpses started to develop after the death of Father Dominic. These models may have affected the image of the Dominican sainthood inside the

---

directed to sustaining Thomas Aquinas's cult, see Angelo Walz, OP, "Historia canonizationis sancti Thomae de Aquino," in *Xenia Thomistica. Divo Thomae doctori communi ecclesia occasione VI centenarii ab ejus canonizatione oblata*, 3 vols., ed. Sadoc Szabó (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1925), 3: 105–172; Luigi Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati predicatori* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996); Giulia Barone, "L'agiografia domenicana alla meta del XIII secolo," in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine. Le manuscript Santa Sabina XIV*, eds. Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 365–78; Agnès Dubreil-Arcin, *Vies de saints, légendes de soi. L'écriture hagiographique dominicaine jusqu'au Speculum Sanctorale de Bernard Gui († 1331)*, Hagiologia 7, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 74–75, 82; Patrick M. Taylor Bergin Jr., "The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic" (Dissertation, The Ohio State University) 2019, 42; Donald Prudlo, "Heretics, Hemorrhages, and Herrings: Miracles and the Canonization of Dominican Saints," in *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, Reading Medieval Sources 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 102–24.

[12] A Dominican friar, Peter Martyr, d. 1252, was speedily canonized in 1253, but unfortunately his canonization process is lost. From existing sources, the reconstruction of the process is possible to some extent, as by Donald S. Prudlo, "Heretics, Hemorrhages, and Herrings." The starting point of my survey is strictly in the juridical processes; for that reason I have not included Peter's case here. Other medieval processes of Dominican saint-candidates are acknowledged when writing this essay, but due to their great diversity, the testimonies of those processes are not used in this relatively short chapter. See a recent anthology on the canonization cases in the Order of Preachers, and especially articles, Francesco Santi, "Perché non fu canonizzato Ramon de Penyafort nel secolo XIV?" in *Fra trionfi e sconfitte. La "politica della santità" dell'Ordine dei Predicatori*, ed. Viliam Stefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, Dissertationes Historicae 39 (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021), and Alfonso Esponera Cerdán, "El proceso de canonización de Vicente Ferrer (m. 1419): 1451–1455," in *Fra trionfi e sconfitte*, 83–105. Otfried Krafft, "Many Strategies and One Goal: The Difficult Road to the Canonization of Catherine of Siena," in *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Gabriela Signori, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 25–46.

whole Order in the following decades and centuries.[13] My focus is on the testimonies describing sensory methods of examining Dominic's and Thomas's saintly bodies, and how these methods were related to medieval topoi and ideals as "odor of sanctity" (*odor sanctitatis*) and incorruption (*corpus incorruptum*) both kept the most common bodily signs to testify and promote medieval sanctity. I am also interested in the extent to which there can be discerned similarities and differences in sensory perceptions and emotional expressions in the canonization materials of these two candidates for sainthood. The hypothesis about constructing "Dominican sainthood" on the model of Dominic's canonization process is based on such preconditions as the Order's high level of education, shared doctrines, and the practical work in unifying their liturgy. These may all have helped in modifying uniformity in perception of sanctity as well. However, I do not assume that Dominican sainthood differs significantly from the general outline of late medieval sanctity. Within the scope of this chapter, it is not possible to conduct such a comparative study.

My primary sources are eyewitness reports of Dominic's and Thomas's canonization processes. In Dominic's case, the idea was to collect material on his sainthood especially from northern Italy and southern France, both areas where Dominic was active. The papal commissioners started their work in Bologna on 13 July 1233, raising questions about Dominic's life and miracles without previously prepared *articuli interrogatorii*.[14] When they finished on 19 August 1233, they gave a mandate to a local subcommission to organize similar hearings in Toulouse. Apparently, there were smaller hearings in different spots in and around Toulouse, but only some twenty-six or twenty-seven of the testimonies survive.[15] Only the material from Bologna is utilized in this chapter, as these witnesses were personally present on those occasions in which they were able to see and touch Dominic's body. Seven of nine Dominicans emphasize the miraculous state of the body and their amazement in front of such an unexplainable phenomenon as *odor sanctitatis*.[16] The historical context of Dominic's canonization (1234) is highly interesting, as the papal control was tightening in regard to sainthood and relic cults after the Fourth Lateran Council. At the same time the popes seem to have been encouraging the promotion of new cults emerging from a correct milieu, including religious orders such as Dominicans.[17] Also, the fact that only Dominican friars were accepted as witnesses may refer to both tightened control and a wish to regulate the new cult.

---

[13] Right after the translation, miraculous signs of Dominic's body received their first literal form on Jordan of Saxony's encyclical, which he sent to the brethren. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni observes the literal tradition growing on the narration of the encyclical, Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, "Miracoli spettacolari nella predicazione domenicana del XIII secolo," in *Miracolo!*, 75–98.

[14] On the significance of the *articuli interrogatorii* as a part of the canonization process, see Goodich, "The Death of a Saint"; Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), esp. 28–29.

[15] "Acta canonizationis sancti Dominici" [hereafter: *Acta*], in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici, Fasc. II: Libellus de principiis Ordinis praedicatorum*, eds. Heribert Christian Scheeben, Angelus Walz, and Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica XVI (Rome: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1935), 91–194. The research concerning especially Dominic's sainthood is abundant. I am giving here only the references that have been the most central to me to be able to analyse the canonization material: Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli: "Il Processo

In Thomas's case the first round of hearings was organized in Naples in 1319. Among the forty-two witnesses, most were the Cistercian monks who had arrived in Naples from Fossanova, where Thomas's tomb was (traveling took several days), and Dominican friars. Besides these two major groups, there were some priests and noblemen invited to testify. Interestingly, there are observations about Thomas's body or body parts in the depositions of the representatives of all these groups. However, the body is most often described by the Cistercians who looked after Thomas's burial and caring of his tomb as well his relics. It is important to note that these remarks on the state of the body were given without a specific question to answer; in fact, in Thomas's case they did not use previously prepared questions. When the documents recording

---

di Canonizzazione di Domenico di Caleruega," in *Fra Trionfi e Sconfitte*, 19–40; Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*.

[16] Some scholars, for example Luigi Canetti, have claimed that there was no cult at Dominic's tomb before the translation and the miracle of the miraculous aroma. Thus, these rather impressive acts can be seen as the acts to convince the papal commission that Dominic's case fulfilled requirements regarding, for example, the existing public cult. See Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 96–117. Also, opposite views of Canetti are presented, see Beatrice Borghi, "La Basilica e il convento di San Domenico in Bologna. Custode di sepolture e di reliquie. Dal *Libellus Funerum* agli inventari dei sacri pegni," Università, teologia e studium domenicano dal 1360 alla fine del medioevo. Atti del convegno di studi (Bologna, 21–23 ottobre 2011), ed. Roberto Lambertini, in *Memorie Domenicane* 45 (2014): 245–62.

[17] Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumiere d'un droit* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975); Roberto Paciocco, "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 54–77; Bergin, "The Offices for the Two Feasts," 42. For example, Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli has acknowledged the concurrence of the new canon law collection *Liber Extra* and the bull *Fons sapientie* with which Pope Gregory IX declared Dominic's canonization in her "Il processo di canonizzazione di Domenico di Caleruega," esp. 20.

the testimonies given in Naples were processed at the papal curia in Avignon, Pope John XXII ordered new hearings to be organized in Fossanova. General scholarly opinion is that the second trial was asked for especially because the first did not supply lay witnesses to Thomas's alleged sanctity.[18] Certainly, one difference between the trials in Naples in 1319 and in Fossanova in 1321 is that many more witnesses in the second trial came from villages close to the abbey.[19] Also in Thomas's case, I utilize only the first process the witnesses of which saw the body on different occasions and several times after his death.

Of all the witnesses who testified to sensory encounters with the saint-candidate's body in these two processes, only one was a layman. All the others who examined the body by their senses and testified to such an encounter were religious, monks, friars, or priests. In Dominic's case no layman participated in the inquiries in Bologna, and in Thomas's case most of the laymen described only their own bodily sentiments related to their sicknesses or devotion toward the saint-candidate: they were not describing Thomas's body. In these cases, the saint's body was enclosed in the sepulchre, and it might not have awoken any specific sensations or sentiments among the peasants, handcraft workers, or noble visitors. If the laity reported such encounters with the body, these details were left out from the surviving records. These sources were produced from oral testimony and were processed by several rounds of scribes, being translated and edited.[20] If the lay reflections on the saintly body were regarded unprofessional and superfluous, the surviving written records may have purposely disregarded those voices.[21]

---

[18] On the question of the second trial in Thomas's case, and also more on organizing both hearings, see Marika Räsänen, "Rituals and Spaces of Devotion in Cistercian Everyday Religion," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 144–63, esp. 148–49.

[19] Thomas Aquinas's canonization processes are much less studied than Dominic's: the most extensive study is Marika Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages: The Restless Corpse*, Crossing Boundaries 6. Turku Medieval and Early Modern Studies (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

[20] See Gábor Klaniczay, "Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Processes," in *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Collection de l'École française de Rome 340 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 117–48. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations*; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Jenni Kuuliala, "Practical Matters: Canonization Records in the Making," in Katajala-Peltomaa et al., *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, 78–101.

[21] Lay understanding probably diverged considerably from doctrinal correct views regarding dying and dead bodies, and elements of folklore were perhaps not desirable among the testimonies for sanctity. On folkloristic characters, see Park, "Birth and Death," 34.

3 Smelling the Aroma

There are seven substantial testimonies in Dominic's canonization process in which the Dominican friars, all present at the event, describe with powerfully sensual language how Dominic's original tomb was opened in 1233, twelve years after Dominic's death, and how the body was lifted up and transported to a new tomb. The transfer of the body was a public *translatio*, and its success was clearly important for Dominic's canonization process, as the transportation is the most abundantly described single theme by the witnesses.[22] The *translatio* rite traditionally had an important role in declaring sanctity from the early Middle Ages to the thirteenth century.[23] According to Bouley, the *translatio* or *elevatio* remained central in the early modern era as a required rite, also enabling a medical examination of the saint-candidate's body.[24]

In my opinion, the late medieval canonization processes deal with the same phenomenon, the examination and witnessing of the signs of the body to certify its holiness. Dominic's *translatio* seems to have provided an excellent opportunity to measure his sainthood. The case is far from unique in the medieval world. Something similar happened also in another place, in the Cistercian monastery of Fossanova, south of Rome, in 1274, when the first public *translatio* of Thomas Aquinas's body was made, some seven months after his death.[25] In the next pages, I will study in more detail the witnesses' remarks on the bodies of these two Dominican saint-candidates and analyse how certain signs, defined generally as *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptum* and usually expected to appear as a part of *translationes*, were perceived as proof the sainthood.

Dominic's canonization testimonies give a strong impression that smelling was the most important way to judge the exceptionality of the dead body. Brother Rodulphus, for example, gives a full description of the event by initially explaining how durable the original tomb was and how hard it was to open, as a heavy stone lid covered the grave. When the tomb was opened, all the people present sensed the aroma. Rodulphus, like other witnesses, tries to describe the perfume he sensed, but finding words to describe the smell appears to have been difficult. Rodulphus was not able to compare it to anything he had sensed earlier:

---

[22] On the importance of the translation for the cult, see, for example, Dubreil-Arcin, *Vies de saints*, 75.

[23] *Translatio* was a common ritual to confirm sainthood before the papacy monopolized the canonization process. Luigi Canetti has discussed the processes of recognition of glorious corpses (*corpi gloriosi*) in late antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in depth: Luigi Canetti, *Frammenti di eternità. Corpi e reliquie tra Antichità e Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2002), 23–75, 152–53.

[24] Bouley, "Roman Medicine, Papal Power."

[25] Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics*, 82–86.

> a sweet, delightful and strong, or rather very powerful aroma, although unidentifiable to him, rose from the grave. He does not think it was similar to the smell of any aromatic spices. The odour was so powerful that in no drug shop or any other place had he ever experienced anything like the strength and quality of this aroma.[26]

Other witnesses use similar descriptive words. Ventura, for example, describes "most pleasant (or sweetest) and marvelous aroma" (*suavissimus et mirabilis odor*); Guillelmus "a pleasant and delightful aroma" (*odor suavis et delectabilis*); according to Brother Stephanus, "all the bystanders inhaled a fragrant perfume" (*odoris fragrantiam*); and Brother Paulus depicts it as "a powerful and delightful and pleasant fragrance" (*odor maximus et delectabilis et suavis*). Thus, the aroma appears to have been at once sensed as sweet and delightful but also strong and powerful.[27]

In Fossanova where, according to the eyewitnesses, Thomas Aquinas's tomb was opened seven or eight months after his death, the miraculous and seemingly powerful aroma started to linger in monastery buildings.[28] The idea of the aroma attesting Thomas's sanctity was the same as in Dominic's case, although the variation of adjectives is more restricted: the fragrance was "sweetest/most pleasant" (*suavissima*) or "powerful" (*magna*). However, the emphasis on the power of the perfume became clear, if not so much through adjectives as through its effectiveness: the witnesses reported that they were not aware that months before, Thomas's body had secretly been transferred from the church to a hiding place. When a sweet perfume started to hover around, the monks seem to have been amazed, as they did not understand where the aroma could have been originating. They followed the perfume and to their surprise found the open tomb with Thomas's body from the Chapel of Saint Stephen at the cloister. To be sure of the source of the aroma, as one of the monks testified, they put their noses near Thomas and ascertained that it was the body which was emitting a good perfume,[29] underlining the connection between sweet scent and the body.

---

[26] *Acta*, c. 34, 153: "[…] magnus, imo maximus, et suavis et delectabilis odor et sibi incognitus exivit de sepultura. Et non credit quod fuerit similis odori alicuius rei aromatice. Et ita magnum sensit odorem, quod nec in apotheca specialium nec in aliquo loco ita magnum vel similem senserit odorem." English translation: http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0003.htm.

[27] All the seven Dominican witnesses described the construction of the original tomb, its opening, and the following occurrences with the same outlines. See also Ventura, c. 10; Amizio, c. 19; Guillelmus, c. 15; Stephanus, c. 40; Bonvisus, c. 23; Paulus, c. 44.

[28] *Processus canonizationis S. Thomae, Neapoli*, [hereafter: *Processus*] in Fontes Vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis 4, ed. M. H. Laurent, *Revue Thomiste* [1911]: 265–407, here c. VIII, 278.

It is worth noting that pleasant aromas are not reported in juridical processes concerning the deathbed moments of Dominican saint-candidates. The whole deathbed moment is passed over cursorily in Dominic's and Thomas's case. The miraculous bodily signs appear basically only in the moment of opening their old tombs, just before the solemn *translatio*. This is peculiar, as medieval narrative sources quite often describe the body as emitting the odor of sanctity immediately after a holy person died. This, according to Schmitz-Esser, was something which medieval people were looking for, as they apparently were well aware of the different circumstances of putrefying processes. The first two or three days were regarded as being revealing in the conditions of dead bodies.[30] Over a longer period, various methods of treating the body to make it fragrant and rot-free were possible; there are medieval sources describing, for example, the drying and mummifying of corpses in particularly hot conditions.[31]

Thus, specific research related to the sanctity of the body does not seem to have been conducted in either Dominic's or Thomas's case at their deathbed. The handling of Thomas's body, including its washing and preparation for burial, is documented by the Cistercian monks, but there is no equivalent description related to Dominic in the canonization process. However, the holiness of Thomas, flowing through his body, was proven in a miracle that occurred to the blind subprior of Fossanova: when preparing to wash the body, he touched Thomas's feet with his eyes and regained his sight.[32]

The witnesses in the cases of Dominic and Thomas seem to have acquired an understanding of the natural putrefying process of bodies within days and months after death. The reliability of the miraculous aroma is attested in a way that emphasized hard natural conditions where the bodies had been lying for years: "[...] were afraid that there would be a stench in the tomb where the [Dominic's] body lay, because it was a very low place and much rain water ran down into the grave."[33] The similar concerns were raised about Thomas's body, which, according to a witness, was miraculously uncorrupted, although the soil under the church where his tomb was located for months was very moist.[34] These testimonies, and especially the fact that the witness in Thomas's case was a layman of high nobility, refer to a common medieval belief in the effectiveness of water as starting the putrefaction of human bodies.[35] What, then, could be more effective proof of the saint-candidates' holiness than the body that was able to resist the force of nature, triumphing over a biological process and maintaining a good perfume?

---

[29] *Processus* VIII, 278; X, 281; XV, 287; XX, 291; LII, 337.

[30] Among the Dominican friars, only Vincent Ferrer's body is reported to have been on display for two to three days at the Cathedral of Vannes between the death and funeral. No good or bad odors are reported to have been sensed during these days. Nevertheless, the crowd seems to have been certain about Vincent's holiness, as they tried to grab even a tiny piece from vestments as relics. See *Procès de la canonisation de Saint Vincent Ferrier*, ed. Père Fages, OP (Paris: A. Picard, 1904).

[31] Schmitz-Esser, *The Corpse in the Middle Ages*, 159–62; Park "Birth and Death," 35.

[32] *Processus* LI, 335. See also Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics*, 63.

An interesting detail repeated in several testimonies of Dominic's process but not mentioned in any of the eyewitnesses at Thomas's hearings, is the description of the aroma as something not known. In his article on medieval smellscapes, C. M. Woolgar reports that the odor of sanctity was often categorized with such epithets as "honey" or "flower" or "sweetest," indicating that in these cases the definitions were natural and well-known.[36] The Dominican friars testifying in Bologna imply, as we saw in above, that they also knew well the world of scents: Paulus had "never sensed so much odor in a storehouse of species, or in a cluster of flowers or in any other place."[37] The message of the friars appears to be that they were familiar with all sorts of smells, perhaps also those from distant lands, lingering in storehouses or special shops that were probably selling herbs and spices.[38] In any case, the friars were experts on smells of sickness and death as well as curing herbs and other substances. In the context of the canonization process, the emphasis on the unrecognizable aroma rising from Dominic's tomb must be acknowledged as experts' opinion: it was not of this world. It was a sign of God's presence, unrecognizable because of humanity's incomplete understanding of divinity.[39]

---

[33] *Acta*, 15.

[34] *Processus* LXXX, 379: "sepultus prope altare magnum ecclesie ipsius monasterii in loco plaustri prope quoniam vividarium ipsius monastery, ubi est fluvius ex quo perducitur aqua per rotam per quam totus locus ille humectatur, sicut ipse testis frequenter et diligenter inspexit."

[35] Danielle Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 21, 28.

[36] Woolgar, "Medieval Smellscapes," 52; Palmer, "In Bad Odour," 66.

[37] *Acta*, c. 44. "Et nunquam sensit tantum odorem in apoteca specierum vel in multitudine florum vel in aliquo loco."

[38] Woolgar, "Medieval Smellscapes," 57, 68.

[39] On discussions of divine fragrance in Christian tradition, see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*, The Transformation

To make the argument extra clear, the witnesses in Dominic's process described how tightly the tomb had been closed: there was a large and heavy stone slab over it, and it was sealed with cement. The casket inside was fastened with iron nails. For opening the construction, the friars had to use strong, iron-made tools.[40] The solidity of the tomb and long, time-consuming process to open it emphasized the matter that Dominic's body had been deposited in a secure place and no human hands had been able to touch it without the community of the friars recognizing it.[41] Thus, the aroma was also supernatural in a sense that it could not have been put on the tomb by a human being. No such treachery would have been possible because of the durability of the grave, nor was a theft possible. All of this demonstrated a systematic examination of the scene, resulting in the statements that were compelling regarding the sanctity of the body.

References to the storage of scents and iron tools can be found in a hagiography of Thomas Aquinas, but not in his canonization process. In *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquinatis*, the Dominican friar William of Tocco describes the same *translatio* as witnessed above by Cistercian monks. According to him, after a long time passed after the exhumation of Thomas's body, the monks opened the grave with iron instruments, and such a strong perfume diffused that it seemed not to have revealed the remains of a man but a storage full of aromas.[42] Thus, the iron tools once again emphasize the integrity of the grave, which, in turn, attested to the uncontaminated scene. The formulation "it seemed not to have revealed the remains of a man but a storage (or repository/coffin) full of aromas" is interesting, as if suggesting that the body has been replaced with a mere scent. The reference to the testimonies about Dominic's body is strong regarding both the language and content of the passage. William's idea is to emphasize the miracle of *odor sanctitatis* similarly to Dominic's case: it was impossible for the aroma to have been produced by human acts; it was a sign

---

of the Classical Heritage 42 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 124, and passim.

[40] Mentioning the use of iron equipment is common in medieval narration about saints' graves when it is necessary to emphasize that nobody could have exchanged the body in question or manipulated it to fake the signs of sanctity. See Roch, "The 'Odor of sanctity'."

[41] On the overall idea on the tomb as a secure place, see *Acta*, 34, 40, 44.

[42] William of Tocco, *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco*, ed. Claire le Brun-Gouanvic (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996), here c. LXVI: "Et patefacto ferreis instrumentis sepulcro post longum tempus a die sue exhumationis, quo fuerat de ecclesie sepultura translatum, tantus odor de sepultura subito exalauit ut non uideretur patuisse defuncti humani corporis sepultura sed multorum aromatum apotheca."

of divinity. The version in the *Ystoria* sounds like a Dominican improvement of the story of Thomas's original *translatio* by the Cistercian monks. William's version, which was examined at the papal curia as a part of the canonization process, focused on the scent. The idea of the tomb filled up with perfume follows the model of Father Dominic's translation and impression of Dominic's assumption to heaven.

The sweet aroma and its source stand out in both processes, while there are some differences, too. The odor and Thomas's physical appearance were intertwined more tightly together, as we will see in the next subchapter. However, the gap in describing the scene, the tightly sealed place in which the bodies of two saint-candidates were located, was bridged in later Dominican hagiographical tradition. In both cases it was emphasized that the human manipulation of bodies was unfeasible; texts also stress the integrity of the saint's body and its storage place.

The Gospel narrative gives a model according to which Jesus's body was anointed.[43] Following this story, herbs and other perfuming substances were often utilized when clothing the bodies of saints-to-be in funeral vestments in medieval hagiographies.[44] Here is perhaps a perceptible intersection of old monastic tradition and new Dominican culture. The Cistercian monks testifying to Thomas's sanctity mention the washing and handling of the body for burial; they do not mention actual embalming. According to them, the body is transferred from one grave to another, sometimes secretly, that is, the body is not constantly under their control. The Dominicans seem to be building on a different hagiographic tradition that emphasized the untouchability of the grave. At least in this quite early phase of the formation of Dominican sanctity, the emphasis on the unknown smell and untouched body seems to have been significant for the Friars Preachers. They utilized these aspects to demonstrate for the commissioners the presence of God flowing within the body.

4 (Un)Seeing and Touching the Holiness

In the day of Dominic's translation most eyewitnesses report seeing primarily a tomb or tomb construction, the opening of which made a great impression upon them, but the body itself is left aside:

---

[43] John 19:39–40.

[44] Schmitz-Esser, *The Corpse in the Middle Ages*, 167. See an interesting example *Acta et Processus Canonizacionis Beate Birgitte*, ed. Isak Collijn (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksellsboktryckeri Ab, 1924–31), 284.

> Raising the stone which covered the top of the tomb, the brethren and all the bystanders inhaled a fragrant perfume. He asserted that he could not describe it, for it did not seem to have the scent of any earthly thing. Because of the fragrance, the brethren and all those standing there prostrated themselves on the floor in tears, praising and blessing the Lord for having shown so wonderfully that his saint should be glorified.[45]

Stephanus's testimony implies that the friars' reaction to the miraculous odor was quite immediate, it was emotional and non-controlled but still in concordance with all the bystanders. The testimonies suggest that at first the brothers only smelled the wonderful smell but saw nothing special. The aroma revealed the presence of something holy, and those present reacted to it by prostrating themselves, weeping and in tears. Spontaneous acts and sentiments, which may look like an overreaction to us, may have also been understood as an overreaction – or at least very special – at the time of the interrogation.[46] Human behavior or sentiments, especially when they were excessive regarding time and place, were perceived as a sign of the presence of the divine.[47] These reactions were interpreted by contemporaries as an expression of devotion and emphasized reciprocity in the presence of holiness. They may have been important evidence also from a juridical viewpoint in Dominic's canonization process.

Brother Rodulphus apparently remained to observe the original grave (and did not follow Dominic's body, which was lifted up). He described how different items were placed into the tomb and started to absorb the same scent that was hovering in the air. Was this some sort of test? His testimony does not reveal if there was something extra in the grave, such as herbs, which could have explained the fragrance.[48] Possibly, the witnesses wanted to affirm the purity of the circumstances in which observations related to holiness were made. Their intention, at an interrogation, may have been to eliminate doubts about the integrity of the evidence. Potentially the grave itself was tested and discovered to be holy.[49] It had been in touch with the saint's body, thus becoming itself a relic, and consequently, started to transmit sanctity to everything that touched it. Additionally, the brothers likely had a desire to emphasize the original burial place as sacred, a place where power was present even when the saint's body was no longer there.

---

[45] *Acta*, 40: "Et elevantes lapidem, qui superpositus erat sepulcro, tantam senserunt odoris fragrantiam tam ipsi quam omnes circumstantes, quod ipse, ut asserebat, narrare non posset, cum nullius rei mundane videretur habere odorem. Propter cuius odoris fragrantiam tam fratres quam omnes circumstantes prostraverunt se ad terram cum lacrimis, laudantes et benedicentes Dominum, qui tam mirifice sanctum suum ostendit fore glorificandum." English translation http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0003.htm.

[46] On the need to consider emotions and senses on their time- and space-related contexts, Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), esp. 1–10.

[47] Shortly on emotions as signs of holiness in *vitae* of saints, see Roch, "Il Miracolo nell'alto Medioevo," 110.

[48] There evidently is plenty of archeological evidence of using perfuming herbs at the tombs of saints in Middle Ages, see Roch, "Il Miracolo nell'alto Medioevo," 111–12.

I suggest that the description of the empty tomb over which hovered a wonderful scent was given as a reference to grave of Jesus, which was found empty when three Marys went to see Jesus's body on the next day after his entombment. The temporality of the narrative is longer, but Brother Ventura, for example, argued in a biblical spirit that the crowd was rushing to Dominic's tomb, trying to decorate it in the days immediately following his death. We can see the symbolic correspondence between the wish to anoint the body and decorate the tomb. All the fuss of the crowd was quieted down, and silence descended at the tomb.[50] Emotionally the sequence of Ventura's testimony looks effective: After the silence the friars, equipped with heavy tools, went to the tomb, ready to open it. Just as in the Gospel story, in which the heavy stone was already rolled aside, they emphasized the emptiness of the tomb in order to stress Dominic's holiness and his ascension to heaven.

Witnesses clearly avoid talking about the body – even seeing it – at the beginning of the translation. The above-mentioned image of the empty tomb probably explains this, but compared to the arguments according to which *corpus incorruptum* was generally associated with medieval saints, I found the case interesting to study further.[51] Was the absence of putrefaction sufficient to smell, or did it also require visual observation to be conclusive evidence in a juridical sense? And can we infer when the sight of body was necessary in the context of recognizing sainthood?

The testimonies of Thomas Aquinas's *translatio* give us an excellent example of the combination of smelling and seeing. One of the eyewitness Cistercian monks gave the following testimony:

> with the opening of the tomb the air of the chapel and even the cloister was filled with the fragrance. The clothes in which the corpse was

---

[49] On monumentalizing Jesus's grave and making it a relic by Emperor Constantine, see Edina Bozoky, *L'imaginaire de la sainteté. De la fabrique des reliques à la fabrique des légendes* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2021), 15–16.

[50] *Acta*, 9.

[51] Sigal, "La mort des saints;" Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body*, 21, 28.

> wrapped were intact and undamaged, as was the corpse itself, except for the tip of the nose in which there was a moderate deterioration. And several monks of the monastery who wanted to be sure whence the redolence flowed approached and placed their nose over his corpse. They noticed that the perfume emanated from the corpse and the clothes.[52]

In this testimony, the body as the visible entity seems to play a clear role: its intactness is emphasized. By detailed and precise examination of the body parts the monk specifies the overall uncorruptness of the body apart from the tip of the nose, where he was able to see moderate deterioration. The same monk speaks about another translation of Thomas's body, seven years after the first. At this time the similar signs also appeared: the body emitted an odor similar to that in the first translation and was still uncorrupted, as were the vestments. At this time, the monk noticed that a part of the tip of the right-hand thumb was missing.[53] However, it is not certain whether he is reporting a sign of incorruption or whether he is referring to the possibility that the thumb was already taken as a single body-part relic, which also surfaces in other testimonies.[54]

In Thomas's case, there are even more anatomic-sounding descriptions of his body parts. Especially eye-catching is this: "He saw [the hand] with skin, flesh, bones, nerves and nails, all integral, just the thumb missing."[55] The testimony is impressive, detailed, and lifelike, but it is perhaps not totally realistic in the sense in which we understand integrity of human limbs. It seems that monks, friars, and priests were well aware of the anatomical facts, and they probably had studied the ancient literature on the topic.[56] The purpose of descriptions like this – which were completely against the laws of nature – was to reassure the inquisitorial committee and curial officials of the sanctity of the candidate.

---

[52] *Processus* LII, 336–37: "in apertura ipsius sepulcri tanta manavit inde fragrantia odoris quod replevit totam ipsam cappellam et etiam claustrum; et vestimenta ipsius cum quibus sepultus fuerat adhuc erant sana et integra, et etiam totum corpus ipsius erat integrum et inlesum excepto quod modica ruptura apparebat in puncta nasi eius. Et nonnulli ex monachis dicti monasterii, volentes certiorari unde manabat tantus odor, appropinquaverunt et posuerunt nasum eorum super corpus ipsius et odorantes senserunt in ipso odoratu dictam suavitatem odoris prodire de corpore et vestimentis ipsius." Translation into English, Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics*, 82.

[53] *Processus* LII, 337.

[54] *Processus* XLVI, 326.

[55] *Processus* XLVI, 326: "dixit quod vidit eam cum pelle, carne, ossibus, nervis et unguibus integram, police tamen carente."

[56] Elizabeth Sears presents Galen's description of the human hand in his work *De iuvamento membrorum*, which greatly resembles the sentence above given by a priest in Thomas's canonization process, see Elizabeth Sears, "Sensory Perception and Its Metaphors in the

In his bull for Thomas's canonization Pope John XXII speaks only of the fragrance. This may indicate the problematic nature of looking and seeing in the theological discussions: seeing with the external eye was not considered as significant as seeing and sensing with the inner senses. External vision may have been misleading. Knowing God through the inner senses was essential, as it was taught by Jesus himself to Apostle Thomas, who touched the side wound before he believed in his resurrection: "Thomas, because you have seen me, you have believed. Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed."[57] Theologically, smelling the miracle and the miraculous scent may have been considered more solid sign of holiness than seeing the unrotten body.[58]

The visual description of Dominic's body remained cursory compared to Thomas's in his canonization process. Ventura was basically the only eyewitness who did not just refer to invisible holiness but examined the material phenomena as the source of the scent and pointed to Dominic's skeletal body:

> Then master Jordan held in his hands the head of the saintly Dominic as three hundred brethren of the Order of Preachers and others kissed it. Moreover, they all sensed the same indescribable scent. This wonderful aroma, surpassing description, remained on the hands of master Jordan and the witness and all who touched the bones. […] He noticed the odor not only on the bones, vestments, casket and dust, but also on his own hands and those of the other friars who touched any of the above-mentioned.[59]

Time of Richard of Fournival," in Bynum and Porter, *Medicine and the Five Senses*, 17–39, esp. 25.

[57] John 20:29.

[58] On continuous theological discussions and debates on senses and especially sensing the odor, see Simon Kemp, "A Medieval Controversy about Odor," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 33.3 (1997): 211–19; Mary Thurlkill, *Sacred Scents in Early Christianity and Islam* (Lanham, Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2016). From the early Christian era, God was believed to be perceivable through senses. For a comprehensive view on theological discussions of scents and smelling, see Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*.

[59] *Acta*, 10. "[…] et tunc magistro Iordane tenente in manibus suis caput dicti fratris beati Dominici quasi trecenti fratres de ordine predicatorum et ultra osculati fuerunt caput, sentientes eumdem inenarrabilem odorem. Et mirabilis et inenarrabilis odor remansit in manibus magistri Iordanis et ipsius testis et omnium illorum, qui tetigerunt de ossibus suis." English translation http://www.domcentral.org/trad/domdocs/0003.htm

This fountain of marvelous aroma came from Dominic's head, his other bones, the vestments in which he was dressed, the casket in which the bones had been, and even the dust that had covered the casket. Instead of using the word *body*, Ventura speaks about the bones giving an image of the skeleton; the head, for example, was easy to lift up and present to the audience.[60] Neither he nor others gave any explicit reference to Dominic's *corpus incorruptum* in the way the witnesses in Thomas's canonization process did.

The occasion of opening Dominic's original tomb and organizing the translation was well planned: friars all over Europe had gathered at the general chapter at the convent of Bologna. Paying tribute to Dominic, the founder of the Order, was presumably the part of the program. Around 300 friars were able to meet their Father, the founder of the Order, and kiss his forehead and touch his body. The testimony above emphasizes touching, which may first seem ambivalent, considering the Gospel story that encouraged faith without seeing and touching and which seemed relevant in interpreting the scent in Dominic's case. I read this excerpt about touching Dominic's body parts through hands and kisses already as a step forward: it describes, and presumably also aims to create, a collective, tangible experience among a young order through the presence of their founding father.[61] The body is no longer a testimony on the sainthood but a tool to create cohesion within the brethren. The description refers to the pleasant, miraculous – and certainly also very emotional – unifying moment, the effectiveness of which seems to have been the scent that bound the friars together.

The importance of materiality as a locus of the collective, shared moment is perhaps more explicitly reported in Thomas Aquinas's canonization process. First, the monks together were said to have pressed their noses closer to Thomas's body to be sure whether the unrecognizable aroma was lingering from it. When their presumptions were proved to be correct:

> the monks felt even greater devotion, the prior of the monastery and two other priests dressed in silken vestments and adornments. And thus prepared themselves, they, in procession together with the entire congregation, transferred the corpse from its present tomb to another one.[62]

---

[60] The body may have been mummified, see Schmitz-Esser, *The Corpse in the Middle Ages*, 152–65.

[61] Brazinski and Fryxell, "The Smell of Relics."

[62] *Processus* LII, 337: "propter quod assumpta maiori devotione per monachos dicti monasterii, prior dicti monasterii et duo alii ministri ex dictis monachis paraverunt se paramentis seu vestimentis sericis, et ipsi sic parati et totus conventus processionaliter

The *translatio* was a liturgical rite, always collective, shared, and festive, the aim of which was to venerate the saint on the one hand and to emphasize the saint's high hierarchical position on the other. Traditionally, the *translatio* rite was a canonization within that community, and that is how the act of the *translatio* must be understood also in Thomas's case: his body was lifted up and venerated within the Cistercian community.[63]

This declaration of Thomas's sanctity functioned only in a local context, but the testimonies were still valuable in papal canonization processes. The *translatio* seems to have been considered as providing an excellent opportunity to examine the body, to look for and ascertain the signs of sanctity in it. Although the examination of Thomas's body had been carried out almost fifty years before the canonization process began, it was taken seriously as the papal bull attests, giving credit to the examiners, the Cistercian monks.

The first impression with the testimonies about Dominic's body is that the body was silenced. The friars just mention it in passing. Their attention was on the concrete place: they tell how they saw and smelled the tomb, but the body itself is neglected in the depositions. Finally, Dominic's physicality emerges as a part of the translation rite, and the friars are able to touch the bones of their Father. The message of the ritual seems to have shifted from testifying Dominic's sanctity to his ever-presence, that he was undoubtedly living in heaven. In Thomas's case, the visible signs, above all the incorruptibility of his body, were important: *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptus* were seen practically as one.

The continuous activity of these bodies is striking; they were continuously giving off an odor and their fragrance was contagious, it spread and was absorbed from the body again and again to new materiality, and again from one object to another. The continuity of life in the body was also perceived in the absence of putrefaction. According to the testimonies of the Cistercian monks, Thomas's physical body was active and its outlook was changing, but it did not lose its miraculous nature. The activity of the body gave credibility to the signs of sanctity; the active body, rather than static and unchanging one, also made the signs more measurable in the context of sanctity. In the juridical context, it was important to establish when a bodily sign turned out to be miraculous.

---

transtulerunt ipsum corpus de ipsa sepultura in qua erat ad quamdam sepulturam aliam que est ante altare predictum." Translation Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics*, 82.

[63] The sainthood is emphasized with the selected liturgy *Os iusti*, see Räsänen, *Thomas Aquinas's Relics*, 83.

5 Conclusions

When the questioning of the witnesses about Dominic's and Thomas's sanctity was completed in Bologna and Naples, all the testimonies were collected together to be judged following canon law. The reported sensory perceptions were analysed and evaluated at the papal curia. Their causes were examined quite swiftly; Dominic was canonized less than a year after the closing of the hearings in Bologna, and Thomas a year and a half after the second round of hearings in Fossanova.

Although Dominic and Thomas were two Dominican brothers and two future Dominican saints, their canonization processes took place in quite different milieus, which probably influenced the content of the testimonies considerably. The signs of sainthood in Dominic's body were witnessed only by the friars with considerable erudition, and theological training probably features in their testimonies as they concentrate on describing the fragrance as the most important sign of sanctity. In Thomas's case, the witnesses are more heterogeneous and the testimonies are also more varied, and often quite colorful, with the incorruption of the body playing a central role. The construction of Thomas's sanctity in the canonization process was not entirely in Dominican hands, but it seems that the later Dominican hagiography "corrected" the narrative with a certain emphasis important to the friars.

The element of surprise, the fact that something totally unexpected happened, is common to the testimonies of both cases. The signs of sanctity in the body evoked an emotional outburst which was expressed in slightly different ways in each case. The actions of the witnesses showed that they had recognized the signs of sanctity and they showed respect for the person they considered to be a saint. The testimonies convey a strong desire to describe the scent and its various aspects, as well as the body and its various ways of demonstrating incorruption. It is also worth remembering that the papal commissioners did not ask questions on these matters: the witnesses, or probably the community of witnesses, were aware of the need to do so. On the basis of Dominic's and Thomas's cases, it could be argued that the idea of the late medieval *translatio* (or its later representation) was to examine the signs of the body, and after a careful examination to give a proof to the sanctity.

The bodies of both candidates for sainthood were exposed to be sensed in various ways, by smelling, seeing and touching, sometimes even tasting (kissing). The sensible signs were measurable and comparable in a way which was familiar to the medieval clergy. Religious professionals were experts in understanding the importance of both inner and outer senses and the perception of the sensual in examining sanctity. Sensory perception often caused powerful emotions which also were considered credible evidence of sainthood. In medieval reality, a cleric was probably valued as the most competent person to examine the bodily signs, and as such the most desired witness in the canonization process.

A papal canonization process, which was beginning to be stabilized in the first half of the thirteenth century, issued its own needs, more systematic testimonies, and clearly justifiable statements regarding the bodily signs of *odor sanctitatis* and *corpus incorruptum* than the traditional narratives of *vitae* of saints. By dissecting canonization testimonies, we can observe nuances in depictions of smelling and seeing the miraculous signs and the diversity of actions linked to them. Dissecting the topoi not only reveals subtle mechanisms associated with attesting holiness but also provides a more vivid picture of the spirituality of religious communities, in this case, the Dominicans and to some extent also the Cistercians.

CHAPTER 12

Canonizations and Jesuit Saints: the Lives and Images amid the Causes for Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier

Jonathan Greenwood

1 Introduction[1]

The five canonizations of 1622 are a watershed moment in early modern Catholicism. Two of this quintet were members of the Society of Jesus, a religious order also known as the Jesuits. Pope Gregory XV recognized Ignatius Loyola (ca. 1491–1556), who founded the Society, and its model missionary Francis Xavier (1506–52) as saints. This chapter will consider the portrayals of the two Jesuits as written and illustrated amid their causes for canonization. While initially compartmentalized since the pair's deaths in the 1550s, the paths to pursuing their sainthoods became increasingly intertwined by the seventeenth century. Scholarship to date has examined the machinations of canonizations during what Giovanni Papa called the early era of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (1588–1634).[2] The Congregation, established by

---

[1] Abbreviations used throughout ADP: Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Rome; *AHSI: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*; ALR: *A la luz de Roma: Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericamo*, 3 vols., eds. Fernando Quiles García et al. (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020); ARSI: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome; AV: Albertina, Vienna; IHSI: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; BRB: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels; *Font. Narr.*: *Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola*, eds. Dionision Fernández Zapico and Cándido de Dalmases, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatus Iesu, 1943–65); *MI Scripta: Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola Societatis Iesu*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1904–18); RM: Rijskmuseum, Amsterdam. The author wishes to thank Sari Katajala-Peltomaa for the invitation to participate in this edited volume. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant Agreement No. 949836).

[2] Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo period della Congregazione dei riti (1538–1634)* (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001); Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002); Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the *Beati Moderni*: Canonisation Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite infiammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog (Rome: IHSI, 2010), 413–39; Vittorio Casale, *L'arte per le canonizzazioni. L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento*

© JONATHAN GREENWOOD, 2025 DOI:10.1163/9789004726833_014

Pope Sixtus V in 1588, was responsible for the assessment and recommendation of candidates for sainthood. During this period in its history, the Congregation oversaw the naming of at least fourteen saints and seventeen blessed, with the latter being a liminal state progressively formalized since 1602 through the process of beatification. The incipient decades of the Congregation saw immense variance between causes, which ended with the pontificate of Pope Urban VIII, who mandated reform and rigor to the process that culminated with its codification in the 1634 bull *Cælestis Ierusalem cives*, which Simon Ditchfield called the "definitive shift from a theological to a juridical definition of sanctity."[3] Concerning the cause for Ignatius, research by historians and art

---

(Turin: Allemandi, 2011); Paolo Parigi, *The Rationalization of Miracles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); María Victoria Hernández Rodríguez, "El proceso de *Ius Condendum* para normativizar las causas de beatificación y canonización de la *Const. Immensa Aeterni Dei* (Sixto V, 1588) al breve *Caelestis Hierusalem Cives* (Urbano VIII, 1634)," in *ALR*, 1: 43–66; and Birgit Emich, "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization," in *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, eds. Andreea Badea et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 165–90. For case studies, see Ronald C. Finucane, "Saint-Making at the End of the Sixteenth Century: How and Why Jacek of Poland († 1257) Became St. Hyacinth in 1594," *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 207–58; Simon Ditchfield, "How Not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–422; Erin Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Ávila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011); Claire Copeland, *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi: The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Hitomi Omata Rappo, *Des Indes lointaines aux scènes des collèges. Les reflets des martyrs de la mission japonaise en Europe* (*XVIe–XVIIIe siècle*) (Münster: Aschendorff, 2020); Alejandro Cañeque, *Un imperio de mártires: Religión y poder en las fronteras de la Monarquía Hispánica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2020); Vicent Francesc Zuriaga Senent, "El decreto *De Imaginibus* y la construcción de la imagen devocional del fundador de la orden de la Merced, San Pedro Nolasco. El itinerario de una canonización 1565–1628," in *ALR*, 1: 129–48; Rady Roldán-Figueroa, *The Martyrs of Japan: Publication History and Catholic Missions in the Spanish World* (*Spain, New Spain, and the Philippines, 1597–1700*) (Leiden: Brill, 2021). For a long view of Jesuits and canonizations, see Franco Motta and Eleonora Rai, "Strategie di santità. La politica delle canonizzazioni dei gesuiti fra antica e nuova Compagnia (XVII–XX secolo)," in *ALR*, 1: 91–106; Christian Renoux, "The Quintuple Canonization of 1622: Between the Renewal of the Making of Saints and Claims for Pontifical Monopoly," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 9.2 (2022): 179–99.

[3] Simon Ditchfield, "Sanctity in Early Modern Italy," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47.1 (1996): 103. I relied on his inventory from 1588 to 1622 found in Ditchfield, "Coping with the *Beati Moderni*," 416 n. 17. Between 1623 and 1634, the initial period of the pontificate of Urban VIII, he beatified Francis Borgia (1624), and the Martyrs of Nagasaki (1627). During this time, he canonized Conrad of Piacenza (1625), Elizabeth of Portugal (1626), Pedro Nolasco (1628), and Andrea Corsini (1629). There were further recognitions of cults as well, which some have confused for canonization. An example is Urban's ratification of the cult of Peter Thomas for the Carmelites in two French dioceses.

historians has interpreted the individual biographies of the founder prepared during the sixteenth century as well as his iconography before his canonization in 1622.[4] Similarly styled examinations have been done for Xavier as well.[5]

Despite the abundant scholarship, insufficient attention has been placed on the intertwined nature of the two Jesuits' causes. There is also a propensity to focus on only the most noteworthy works prepared to promote reputations for sanctity. The 1619 cycle on the life and miracles of Xavier found in the Professed House of São Roque in Lisbon monopolizes attention, as does the decoration of the church and the saint's tomb in Goa.[6] So, too, do the painted and printed works by Peter-Paul Rubens, including the illustrated Roman life of Ignatius that was published for the beatification of the founder in 1609 and the complementary canvases of the two Jesuits and their thaumaturgy that were created around the time of Xavier's beatification in 1619.[7] The ground has been well trodden with these contributions.

---

[4] Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuer Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1982); Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52:1 (Spring 1999): 180–96; Gotor, *I Beati del Papa*, 231–43; Axelle Guillausseau, "Los relatos de milagros de Ignacio de Loyolaun ejemplo de la renovación de las prácticas hagiográficas a finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII," *Criticón* 99 (2007): 5–56; A. D. Wright, "'La sua santità non inclina niente': The Papacy and the Canonization of Ignatius Loyola," in *Ite infiammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog (Rome: IHSI, 2010), 441–55; Esther Jiménez Pablo, "La canonización de Ignacio de Loyola (1622). Lucha de intereses entre Roma, Madrid y París," *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016): 79–102; Rady Roldán-Figueroa, "Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583) and Literary Culture in Early Modern Spain," in *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness*, ed. Robert A. Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 156–74; Jonathan E. Greenwood, "Tracing the Cult of Ignatius Loyola through Print," *AHSI* 88, fasc. 175 (2019): 135–81; Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo, "Reconocimiento de la santidad de Ignacio de Loyola, 1556–1622," *AHSI* 91, fasc. 181 (2022-I): 9–82.

[5] Maria Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552–1640," *AHSI* 71, fasc. 142 (2002): 254–78; Fernando García Gutiérrez, *San Francisco Javier en el arte de España y Oriente* (Seville: Guadalquivir ediciones, 2005); Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 35–86; Maria Cristina Osswald, "Cultos e iconografías jesuíticas en Goa durante los siglos XVI y XVII. El culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes. El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra y Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 235–53; Eduardo Morales Solchaga, "Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en la portada del libro barroco," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes*, 254–83; María Gabriela Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas. San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barroco* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2009); Liam M. Brockey, "The Cruelest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early Modern Asia," *Catholic Historical Review* 101.1 (2015): 41–64; Pamila Gupta, *The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, "Los procesos para la canonización de San Francisco Javier," *Anuario de historia de la iglesia* 29 (2020): 220–27; Rachel Miller, "From 'Apostle of Japan' to 'Apostle of All the Christian World': The Iconography of St. Francis Xavier and the Global Catholic Church," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 415–37.

[6] Vítor Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier pelo Pintor André Reinoso* (Lisbon: Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 1993); idem, "André Reinoso (c. 1590–pós 1650), um 'pintor de fama'

Instead, this essay synthesizes the devotional media within the causes of Ignatius and Xavier. We start with biographical sketches of the two candidates followed by an examination of the initial portrayals prepared to mobilize the cults for the pair since their deaths during the 1550s, a time marked by greater interest in Ignatius. The 1580s, however, saw a change, with widespread efforts to produce definitive representations of both Jesuits in word and image. This era coincided with the generalship of Claudio Acquaviva, who became the Superior-General or head of the Society in 1581 and whose tenure was privy to vigorous efforts to promote and pursue the canonizations of the Jesuit founder and the exemplary missionary. Despite being reflective of a desire to have the duo canonized, these devotional works went viral and concentrated on devotees across the early modern world. The cults of the two Jesuits were global in scope and were enabled by the abundance of materials that enumerated the life, virtues, and miracles of these potential saints.

2 Portrayals of the Two Jesuits before 1594

Ignatius and Xavier hailed from the nobility in the kingdom of Navarre that encompassed modern northern Spain and southwestern France.[8] The two met as students at the University of Paris and had roomed together since 1529. After

---

para a fama de São Francisco Xavier," in *Missão, espiritualidade e arte em São Francisco Xavier*, ed. Maria Margarida Montenegro (Lisbon: Edições Santa Casa Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2020), 50–91; and João Miguel Simões, "O ciclo pictórico dedicado a São Francisco Javier na sacristia da igreja de São Roque de Lisboa. Iconologia, ideologia imagética e política no contexto da União Ibérica (1580–1640)," in *Missão, espiritualidade e arte em São Francisco Xavier*, 92–133.

[7] König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 80, 221–22; José Ramos Domingo, *El programa iconográfico de San Ignacio de Loyola en la Universidad de Salamanca. Ribadeneira-Rubens-Barbé-Conca* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2003), 109–13; John W. O'Malley, *Saints and Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 257–98; Aurelio A. Barrón García and Miguel Ángel Aramburu-Zabala Higuera, "Pinturas del taller y círculo de Rubens llegadas en Logroño en 1622," *Ars Bilduma* (2016): 33–40; Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 119–29.

[8] Much of the following biographical information comes from Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, 4 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1973–1982); John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

an initially frosty reception, Xavier warmed to his roommate. Ignatius and his followers made their way to Rome, where Pope Paul III confirmed the order in 1540. The Society elected Ignatius as its Superior-General despite the founder's resistance to taking the office. Not long after casting his vote for Ignatius, Xavier left for Lisbon. King John III of Portugal wanted priests to evangelize Portuguese overseas dominions, and when he heard about the incipient Society, he asked them to be missionaries. Despite largely unsuccessful efforts to find recruits for India, Xavier and three confrères sailed from Lisbon in April 1541 and landed in Goa thirteen months later. For the next decade, Xavier traveled widely to evangelize Asia, with time spent in India, the Malay Archipelago, and Japan. Xavier's last trip was to China. He heard about the erudition of the Chinese and wanted to facilitate exchanges between European universities and Asian learned elites. He only got as far as the offshore Shangchuan Island, though, where he died in early December 1552.

The founder, meanwhile, remained in Rome to govern the fledging Society, which steadily grew in numbers. Members of the Society wanted an account of the founder's life. They had to settle, however, for the letters-cum-biographies written in the late 1540s. The early companion Diego Laínez drafted his text in 1547 during a lull in the sessions of the ecumenical Council of Trent (1545–63). The founder's secretary Juan de Polanco expanded on this document the next year. Though many in the Society wanted a firsthand interpretation of the life of Ignatius, he refused, since he regarded it as self-indulgent. Efforts continued during the early 1550s, when a Jesuit scribe was tasked with recording the recollections of the founder. The scribe prodded and cajoled Ignatius for over two years to reminisce. Once the narrative got to the events in Rome, the Superior-General had had enough and told the scribe to consult confrères for anything else.

Ignatius also refused to sit for a portrait despite the demand for one. But once he died in Rome on 31 July 1556, a death mask was cast, which was then used as the basis for a painted portrait by Jacopino del Conte. Painters used these mortuary moulds to create definitive representations of pre-Congregation candidates for canonization.[9] The case of Ignatius having his portrait painted posthumously has been examined by Nina Niedermeier, who found that the resistance by the images' subjects was born of a sense of humility.[10] This was also apparent among other candidates for sainthood during the early Congregation era.[11] Nor was Ignatius the only Jesuit to get this treatment, with the later Superior-General Francis Borgia undergoing the same procedure after his death in 1572.[12]

---

[9] Machtelt Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance: Early Images of Bernardino da Siena and the Issue of Portraiture (with a New Proposal for Sassetta)," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007): 77–114; Urte Krass, "A Case of Corporate Identity: The Multiplied Face of Saint Antonino of Florence," *Representations* 131.1 (Summer 2015): 1–21; Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 117–18.

Xavier, in contrast, never had a mortuary plaster taken. Instead, Portuguese merchants brought his corpse to Malacca in December 1552, where he was interred in the Society's church of Nossa Senhora do Outeiro. The decision was made to relocate Xavier again and by early 1554, he arrived in Goa.[13] At no time during the 1550s were there any documented efforts to produce an image of Xavier, despite having access to his body and his acquaintances. While one scholar posited that Jesuits in Goa fashioned a representation during the 1560s, I cannot find any evidence to support this claim.[14] Xavier was interred as quickly as possible. During subsequent exhumations, however, his body was compromised, not because of rot but by overly eager workmen in Malacca inadvertently flattening his nose when levelling uneven dirt. Well-executed portrayals of the features of Ignatius were possible thanks to the death masks. Xavier's face would require the painter to perform rhinoplasty with a brush.

Interest in the canonization of Xavier amplified after the translation of his body to Goa in 1554. A year later, Polanco noted that there was a desire in Rome to examine the miracles of Xavier. The king of Portugal, who had known Xavier during his time in Lisbon, championed the Jesuit and was the impetus for the informative processes that happened in modern India and Malaysia between 1556 and 1557 (see Table 12.1). Informative or ordinary processes were the first stage within a cause of canonization overseen by local bishops or ordinaries to gather testimonies. It was this documentation that would be sent to Rome to advance the cause of the candidate.[15] The testimonies of these Asian witnesses supplied biographical details about Xavier's life once he left Europe. Once gathered, the statements went to Lisbon to be forwarded to Rome. But the dearth of canonizations during the mid-sixteenth century and the death of the Portuguese king in 1557 brought these early efforts to a halt.

---

[10] Nina Niedermeier, "'The Artist's Memory': How to Make the Image of the Dead Saint Similar to the Living: The Vera Effigies of Ignatius of Loyola," *Horti Hesperidum. Studi di storia del collezionismo e della storiografia artistica* V: 2, vol. 1 (2015): 157–99.

[11] Fernando Quiles García, "De un día para otro. Un itinerario entre dos fechas, marzo de 1622 y abril de 1671," in *ALR*, 2: 572; Grace Harpster, "Figino's Efficacy: Portraits, Votices, and Their Makers after Trent," *Oxford Art Journal* 44.2 (2021): 231–32; Ruth S. Noyes, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 63–66.

[12] Borja Franco Llopis, "Màscara mortuòria de Sant Francesc de Borja," in *Sant Francesc de Borja Gran D'Espanya. Art i espiritualitat en la cultura hispànica dels segles XVI i XVII*, eds. Ximo Company and Joan Aliaga (Gandia: Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quiros, 2011), 294–96.

[13] Brockey, "The Cruelest Honor," 25–27.

[14] Osswald, "Culto e iconografías jesuíticas en Goa," 253.

The initial writing of posthumous biographies for the two Jesuits was predominantly Ignatian in scope. Pedro de Ribadeneyra was the most prominent voice. A Spanish transplant in Rome, he joined the Society right before Paul III granted his approval. Although he had wanted to write the life of Ignatius since the mid-1540s, Ribadeneyra instead kept a notebook with biographical snippets. Superior-General Borgia tasked Ribadeneyra with preparing the biography of Ignatius. Published in 1572 in a limited run of 500 copies, the Latin *Life of Ignatius Loyola* (*Vita Ignatii Loiolae*) was both an individual treatment of a holy person and an institutional history of the Society. The interest in edification is evident in the fifth and final book of the *Life*, which enumerated Ignatius and his exemplarity in chapters dedicated to a cardinal or theological virtue.[16]

Ribadeneyra's final chapter was supposed to focus on Ignatius's miracles, but the biographer instead contended that the most important miracle performed by God through Ignatius was the foundation of the Society. The overlap between Ignatius and Xavier is evident in Ribadeneyra's *Life*, where the missionary is discussed separately. The third chapter of book III elaborated on Xavier's going to Lisbon, whereas Ribadeneyra gave an account of the missionary's death in book IV, chapter 7. After providing a précis of the missionary's time in Asia and his death, Ribadeneyra told the reader that:

> It would take too much time and carry us too far afield from our undertaking to list his miracles before and after his death. This narrative does not aim to detail everything that Francis did in India. They are many deeds, significant and confirmed, and they ought to be set forth in a proper book, not crammed into a small space.[17]

---

[15] Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Jesuit Saints: The Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Context," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 333.

[16] O'Malley, *Saints and Devils Incarnate*, 272–73.

[17] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Claude Pavur (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2014), 303–4. Though the English translation relied on the 1586 Latin text, much of the 1572 version of the *Life of Ignatius Loyola* remained the same. Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (Naples: Giuseppe Cacchi, 1572), 149r. "Miracula illius, & in uita, & post mortem aedita, enumerare, nimis longum esset, & ab nostro instituto alienum. Neque enim huic narrationi propositum est, ut quae in India per Franciscum

The goal remained at this time to craft an account of Catholic exemplarity while situating Ignatius, and to a lesser extent Xavier and the early companions, within the broader growth of the Society of Jesus. Ribadeneyra, however, realized that a auxiliary book on Xavier to complement his take on Ignatius was in order. He could not do justice to the reputation of the so-called Apostle of the East.

Even though little came of the processes for Xavier during 1556 and 1557, there remained a desire to gather information about the early companion of Ignatius. When Jesuits in Goa, for example, convened their first Provincial Congregation in 1575 to discuss matters of operating and governing the colleges and provinces, attendees discussed Xavier as well. All present agreed that a better church was in order so that his remains could lay dignified despite his uncanonized status. Far more pressing was the gathering of information about his life and miracles.[18] The decrees of that Congregation exclude any mention of images, whether already fashioned or in demand locally. The priority was to write a biography of Xavier, which was part and parcel of the history of the Jesuit missions in Asia and perhaps a response to the printing of Ribadeneyra's book. Two of the early biographers of Xavier – Francisco Pérez and Manuel Teixeira – had known him during his lifetime.[19] Alessandro Valignano, the third to write about Xavier, arrived in Asia decades later and had access to extensive documentation. Writing during the late 1570s and early 1580s, the trio prepared these biographies-cum-mission histories while active in Asia. Although the manuscripts traveled to Europe soon after their completion, they were not published until the twentieth century.[20]

Valignano also commissioned a now-lost portrait of Xavier in 1583, when he returned to Goa in late November 1583. He had been part of the Tenshō embassy composed of four young Japanese converts en route to Europe from Nagasaki, but his unexpected appointment as Provincial of India meant he

---

gesta sunt ea omnia persequar (sunt enim multa, magna, testata, & quae iusto uolumine explicati, non peranguste coarctari debent)."

[18] First Congregation of the Province of India, 6–18 December 1575, Island of Chorão in *Documenta Indica*, ed. Josef Wicki, 18 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1948–1988), 10: 314–15.

[19] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 46; Elisa Frei, "Through Daniello Bartoli's Eyes: Francis Xavier in *Asia* (1653)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 403.

[20] Maria Cristina Osswald, "Culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Portugal en los siglos XVI y XVII," in *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, eds. Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta, and Arnulfo Herrera (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007), 158; Josef Wicki, "Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Pérez S.I. (1579)," *AHSI* 34 (1965): 36–78.

traveled no further than Goa.[21] On New Year's Eve that same year, Valignano wrote to Acquaviva and briefly discussed the accompanying painting of Xavier in which he was "very unadorned" (*muy al natural*) and his appearance reliant on the oral testimonies of people who knew the early companion of Ignatius. Wearing the garments of European priests in Asia, Xavier was "lifting with his hands the cassock from his chest and with eyes lifted to heaven."[22] This description corresponded with that made three years earlier by Manuel Teixeira in his biography of Xavier.[23] Valignano claimed that Rome regarded Xavier as "a very holy man" (*un padre tan santo*), but the lack of images there was an immense oversight. He transitioned to the three portraits of the early Superior-Generals – Ignatius, Laínez, and Borgia – that Acquaviva had sent. Paintings of the two candidates for sainthood travelled between Rome and Goa.

During the same decade, Ribadeneyra revised and translated into Spanish his *Life of Ignatius*, which signaled the start of the wide dispersal of his account through various European vernaculars. By the century's end, one could read Ribadeneyra's narrative in Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, and Polish.[24] The Spaniard, however, soon had competition in *On the Life and Mores of Ignatius Loyola* (*De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae*) by his Italian confrère Giampietro Maffei.[25] First published in 1585, *On the Life and Mores of Ignatius Loyola* began with Ignatius's birth and ended with the gathering of the early companions in Paris. What followed was an account of Ignatius and the early Society until the founder died in 1556. While Ribadeneyra combined biography with institutional history, Maffei ensured that Ignatius predominated the discussion. And like Ribadeneyra, Maffei's final book elaborated on the virtues of Ignatius, with only a brief chapter mentioning the miracles. Both biographers were reticent about the supernatural healings attributed to the founder, only discussing them as much as necessary. Acquaviva had no qualms about having different interpretations in print, while Ribadeneyra prepared an inventory of errors found in Maffei's book, frequently accusing the Italian biographer of falsehoods.[26]

---

[21] Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 29–34, 37–38, 217 n. 10.

[22] ARSI, Japonica Sinica 9-II, 231r: Valignano to Acquaviva, Goa, 31 December 1583. "pintose co[n] los uestidos con que acostumbraua a ir por aca, aliuantando con las manos la sotana del pecho, y con los ojos aluantados al cielo."

[23] Manuel Teixeira, *Vida del Bienauenturado Padre Francisco Xauier*, 1580 in *Monumenta Xaveriana*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Agustín Avrial and Gabriel López del Horno, 1899–1912), 2: 882.

[24] Greenwood, "Tracing the Cult," 145–50.

[25] Greenwood, "Tracing the Cult," 150–53. The exception was a French translation printed in Douai in 1594.

Ribadeneyra contributed to the burgeoning visual culture of the founder as well. In 1585, an image arrived in Madrid from Rome. Upon seeing this portrait, Ribadeneyra was unimpressed by its quality, which made Ignatius look like "someone really comfortable and fat, or some laborer, not as our Father."[27] His response was to commission a confrère to sculpt another death mask that became the basis for a new portrait by the Spanish court painter, which took a few attempts before Ribadeneyra approved of what was called the "true portrait" (*verdadero retrato*).[28] Valignano's description of a *retrato al natural* could be likened to a true portrait, but as Marta Cacho Casal indicated, the two expressions are not necessarily interchangeable.[29] Both depictions, though, took pains to rely on the testimonials of associates. Where the representations differed was the continued reliance on death masks for the portraits of Ignatius.

The early years of Acquaviva's generalship were thus a time for the creation of biographies and images of the two Jesuit exemplars. While informative processes had been convened for Xavier during the 1550s, these lacked the substance of those overseen by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Lives and representations filled a vacuum for those invested in the canonizations of the two Jesuits, despite the institutional gears' immobility since the 1520s. While the portrayals of Xavier were handwritten and painted, their Ignatian counterparts relied on printed lives and images. These formats also crossed paths, as seen in the 1590 edition of Ribadeneyra's book in German, which included an engraving containing a profile portrait surrounded by key episodes from the founder's life.[30] Xavier is nowhere to be found here, but others of the time depicted Ignatius dispatching Xavier to India in the upper-right corner.[31] Before 1594, Xavier lacked the ubiquity in print that Ignatius had.

---

[26] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Censurae in vitam S. Ignatii a P. Maffei conscriptam*, 1585 in *Font. Narr.* 3: 217–36.

[27] Cristóbal López, *Relación de la forma que se tuvo en nazer el retrato de nuestro santo P. Ignacio de Loyola y del motivo que para ello tuvo el P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, March 1587 in *Font. Narr.* 3: 241. "algún muy regalado y relleno, o algún labrador, que no de nuestro Padre."

[28] López, *Relación del retrato de Ignacio de Loyola*, 3: 242.

[29] Marta P. Cacho Casal, *Francisco Pacheco y su* Libro de retratos (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011), 272, 284.

[30] A M (possibly Alexander Mair), *P. Ignatius Loyola*, Augsburg?, 1590, engraving, 24.2 × 30.5 cm in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia von dem Leben und Wandel Ignatij Loiolae*, trans. Theobald Stoz (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1590). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 4 V.ss. 302.

3 Toward Jesuit Beatifications

That would change with the convening of the Fifth General Congregation (November 1593–January 1594), which had Jesuits from across the world come to Rome to discuss matters of significance for the Society. Decree 71 outlined that a proposal had first been made to petition the Holy See to canonize Ignatius. The congregants then decided that appeals should be made for both Ignatius and Xavier, with the responsibility being assigned to Acquaviva.[32] It did not take long for local processes to convene to assess the life, virtues, and miracles of Ignatius. A concerted endeavor was underway to determine the sanctity of the Jesuit founder.

TABLE 12.1 Timeline and documents for the causes of canonization for Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier

Date	Location	Candidate	Occurrence
12:1552	Shangchuan Island (China)	FX	Death
7:1556	Rome	IL	Death
11–12:1556; 8:1557	Goa	FX	I-P1
11:1556; 5:1557	Malacca (Malaysia)	FX	I-P1
12:1556	Vasai (India)	FX	I-P1
1:1557	Vasai (India)	FX	I-P2
	Kochi (India)	FX	I-P1
7–9:1593	Burgos (Spain)	IL	I-P1
11:1593–1:1594	Rome	5 GC	
6:1595	Alcalá de Henares (Spain)	IL	I-P
7–8:1595	Madrid & Azpeitia (Spain)	IL	I-P
8–9:1595	Barcelona	IL	I-P1

---

[31] Thomas de Leu, *Ignatius Loyola*, Paris, 1590, engraving, 25.1 × 19.2 cm, AV, Hofbibliothek 137, fol. 112, 82.

[32] *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuits General Congregations*, ed. and trans. John W. Padberg, Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 212.

TABLE 12.1 Timeline and documents for the causes of canonization (*cont.*)

Date	Location	Candidate	Occurrence
10–11:1595	Manresa, Montserrat, & El Prats de Rei (all Spain)	IL	I-P1
11:1597–2:1598	Palma de Mallorca (Spain)	IL	I-P1
6–11:1599	Palma de Mallorca (Spain)	IL	I-P2
2:1606–2:1608	Rome	IL	A-P
3–5:1606	Brussels	IL	A-P
4–6:1606	Barcelona	IL	A-P2
9:1606	Manresa & Montserrat (all Spain)	IL	A-P2
10:1606	Valencia	IL	A-P
	Toledo (Spain)	IL	A-P
11:1606	Burgos (Spain)	IL	A-P2
	Florence	IL	A-P
12:1606–1:1607	Modena	IL	A-P
1:1607	Pamplona (Spain)	IL	A-P
4–5:1607	Gandia (Spain)	IL	A-P
5: 1607	Palma de Mallorca (Spain)	IL	A-P3
2–3:1608	Rome	6 GC	
1608; 1613	Cebu (Philippines)	FX	I-P
4–5:1608	Giovinazzo (Italy)	IL	A-P
7:1609	Rome	IL	Beatification
1610	Rome	FX	A-P1
1613	Rome	FX	A-P2
2–3:1614	Pamplona (Spain)	FX	A-P
10:1614–5:1615	Lisbon	FX	A-P1
10:1615	Goa	FX	A-P2
11:1615–1:1616	Rome	7 GC	
7–9:1616	Kochi (India)	FX	A-P2
8–9: 1616	Thoothukudi (India)	FX	A-P
9–11: 1616	Kollam & Manakkudi (both India)	FX	A-P
8–10:1616	Lisbon	FX	A-P2
1616	Malacca (Malaysia)	FX	A-P2
10:1619	Rome	FX	Beatification
3:1622	Rome	IL & FX	Canonization

Glossary
A – Apostolic
FX – Francis Xavier
GC – General Congregation
I – Informative
IL – Ignatius Loyola
P – Process

Dates use a numeric month and year format. Locations in paratheses refer to modern states in which these cities are found.

Notes on the causes of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier
The processes have been inventoried in Luis Javier Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, "Los procesos para la canonización de San Francisco Javier," *Anuario de historia de la iglesia* 29 (2020): 220–227; Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973–1982), 2:678–679; Anselm M. Albareda, *Sant Ignasi a Montserrat*, ed. Josep M. Soler i Canals, new ed. (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1990), 23–25.

Documents for the cause of Ignatius
Large swathes of the testimonies from the processes have been published in the second volume of *Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola Societatis Iesu*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1904–1918). However, scholars should still consult the fonds from the Postulator of the Society found in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Postulazione. This collection of documents has the informative and apostolic processes as well as materials from the Congregation and accounts of miracles excluded from the cause. There is also a smattering of relevant documentation found at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, manuscrito 9716.

Documents for the cause of Xavier
For Xavier, the transcript of the processes, when extant, have been published in the second volume of in *Monumenta Xaveriana*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Agustín Avrial and Gabriel López del Horno, 1899–1912). The papers of the Jesuit Postulator at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu also contain documentation about the cause of Xavier. The documents of the two apostolic processes in Lisbon are found in Codici 465 and 466 at the Archivio Doria Pamphilj in Rome. Some of the archival materials of the apostolic processes in Rome, Goa, and Malacca are inaccessible. The Roman materials are in the presently lost Codice 468 housed at the Archivio Doria Pamphilj. What remains is the witness list in Goa and a summation of the events in Malacca, which can be found in the fourth volume of Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962–1965). This work's third volume contains the statements of a witness in Cebu, located in the Philippines, who knew Xavier firsthand and supplied testimony in 1608 and 1613.

In this stage of the cause for Ignatius, only one biographer featured among the witnesses. In August 1595 Ribadeneyra had to first answer about his relationship with Ignatius and his authorship of the *Life*. Was everything contained within the book true, and could he justify the claims contained therein, including about "miraculous and supernatural things" (*cosas milagrosas y* *sobrenaturales*)?[33] Ribadeneyra conveyed the authoritativeness of the *Life* by acknowledging his closeness to the founder, including a spell as roommates.[34] He affirmed that three of the early companions – still living when the *Life* was first printed – had vouched for his narrative. The book was also reviewed at the Third Congregation General (1573), which decreed it to be factual.[35] Ribadeneyra even maintained the truth in the book's reportage on the supernatural occurrences from the founder's lifetime.[36] He regularly referred to documents in his possession, a sort of personal archive of Ignatiana. Once he finished supplying his testimony, he continued to gather materials and asked Acquaviva in Rome for help in getting Jesuit provincials to send more information, especially about the miracles of Ignatius.[37]

Images appeared infrequently in the informative stage of Ignatius, and always in the context of miracles. One instance was in the process in Burgos that preempted the Fifth General Congregation's decree to pursue the causes of Ignatius and Xavier. An Augustinian nun reported about a miraculous likeness that a Jesuit brought to the city circa 1579 that helped her overcome temptation, abdominal pain, and a bleeding chest. The image, she claimed in 1593, helped her pass a hundred stones in a year as well.[38] Visual media of Ignatius had a different function within the processes with the truth claim being the legitimacy of the miracles under review. While most of the informative processes had occurred in 1595, those in Palma de Mallorca happened much later and only finished in November 1599. The priority was the lifetime of Ignatius with occasional reference to his posthumous accomplishments.

In contrast, no processes for Xavier occurred soon after the Fifth General Congregation. What transpired instead was his arrival in print as seen in the publication of *On the Life of Francis Xavier* (*De vita Francisci Xaverii*) by Orazio Torsellino. The *Life of Xavier* was printed twice in 1596, with these editions housing an image of Xavier between the front matter and the start of the narrative that was divided into seven sections. In books I through VI, Torsellino followed the layout used by Ribadeneyra and Maffei, wherein most of the narrative focused on the lifetime and death of the subject. In Book VI, chapters were added about the translation and state of Xavier's body, whose incorruptibility was yet another sign of his holiness. Unlike the Ignatian biographers, however, Torsellino had no qualms about discussing both the virtues and miracles of Xavier in the sixth and final book. Considering the Fifth General Congregation's decision to pursue the canonization of Xavier, Torsellino seemed to frame his account around the prerequisites for a successful cause. A thorough overview of a candidate's life was always wanted, but equally if not more crucial were corroborated examples of virtues and intercessions. The structure of Torsellino's book was indicative of the changes to life-writing after the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Ribadeneyra and Maffei were residuals of an earlier age.

---

[33] Testimony of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Madrid, 31 July 1595, in *MI Scripta* 2: 150.

[34] Testimony of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Madrid, 5 August 1595, in *MI Scripta* 2: 152.

[35] Testimony of Ribadeneyra, 5 August 1595, in *MI Scripta* 2: 153–54.

[36] Testimony of Ribadeneyra, 5 August 1595, in *MI Scripta* 2: 154–55.

[37] Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Claudio Acquaviva, Madrid, 12 August 1595, in *MI Scripta* 2: 260–61.

[38] Testimony of Francisca de Bernuy, 30 August 1593, in *MI Scripta* 2: 115–19.

Engravers from Antwerp were responsible for these representations, with Theodoor Galle supplying the image for the Roman edition (Fig. 12.1), whereas Hieronymus Wierix contributed to the local printing of Torsellino's biography (Fig. 12.2).[39] Galle and Wierix depicted Xavier looking upward at heavenly luminescence. Xavier has a tonsure and wears a beard along with nondescript vestments. Crowing the top of the prints is the purported saying of Xavier: "it is enough, Lord, it is enough" (*Sat*[*is*] *est Domine sat*[*is*] *est*). Xavier uttered this phrase in the garden of the old College of St. Paul in Goa, where he glimpsed an apparition of the Blessed Trinity accompanied by a chorus of angels. He was so overcome by the experience, as the tradition goes, he yelled: "That is enough, Lord!" (*Satis est, Domine!*).[40]

Ribadeneyra in his 1572 biography of Ignatius credited Xavier with uttering these words while he gazed upward, with his hands grasping his chest.[41] While it is possible that either engraver based his print on the Goan portrait, there is no evidence to substantiate this claim. Torsellino elaborated that Xavier "with his hands torn from his burning breast, they heard this voice repeating again and again, 'it is enough, Lord, it is enough.'"[42] The heart set alight caused Xavier to move his hands away. Galle has Xavier gripping his cassock at chest height, a tendency that is featured in the descriptions by earlier life-writers. Wierix, in contrast, had Xavier cross his hands just beneath his neck and over his heart.

---

[39] Theodoor Galle, *Franciscus Xaverius*, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 24.2 × 30.5 cm in Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), s.n.; Hieronymus Wierix, *P*[*ater*] *Franciscus Xaverius*, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 8.4 × 6.1 cm in Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Antwerp: Joachim Torgnaesius, 1596), s.n. The images are sometimes removed from the book, as was done with Wierix's, which can be found at the RM (RP-P-1904-843).

[40] Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, 3: 457–58.

[41] Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii* (1572), 147r.

[42] Torsellino, *Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome: 1596), 254. "tunica de more ab aestuanti pectore manibus diducta, hanc identidem vocem iterantem exaudierunt, SAT EST Domine, sat est."

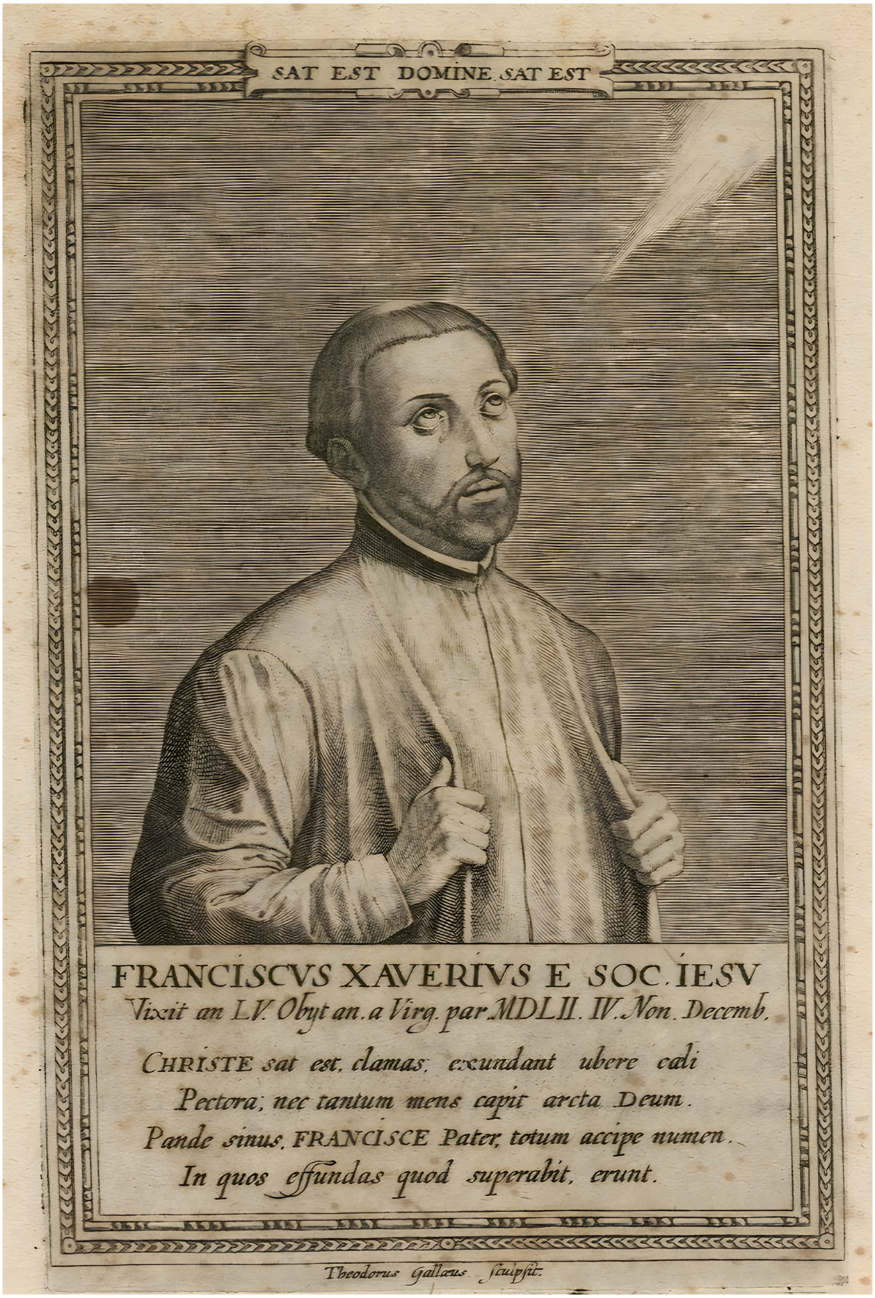
SAT EST DOMINE SAT EST
FRANCISCVS XAVERIVS E SOC. IESV
Vixit an LV. Obyt an. a Virg. par MDLII. IV. Non. Decemb.
CHRISTE sat est, clamas: exundant ubere cæli
Pectora; nec tantum mens capit arcta Deum.
Pande sinus, FRANCISCE Pater, totum accipe numen.
In quos effundas quod superabit, erunt.
Theodorus Gallæus sculpsit.

FIGURE 12.1 Theodoor Galle, *Franciscus Xaverius*, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 24.2 × 30.5 cm in Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), s.n. Biblioteca Valenciana, Fondo antiguo XVI/338
SOURCE: BIBLIOTECA VALENCIANA DIGITAL

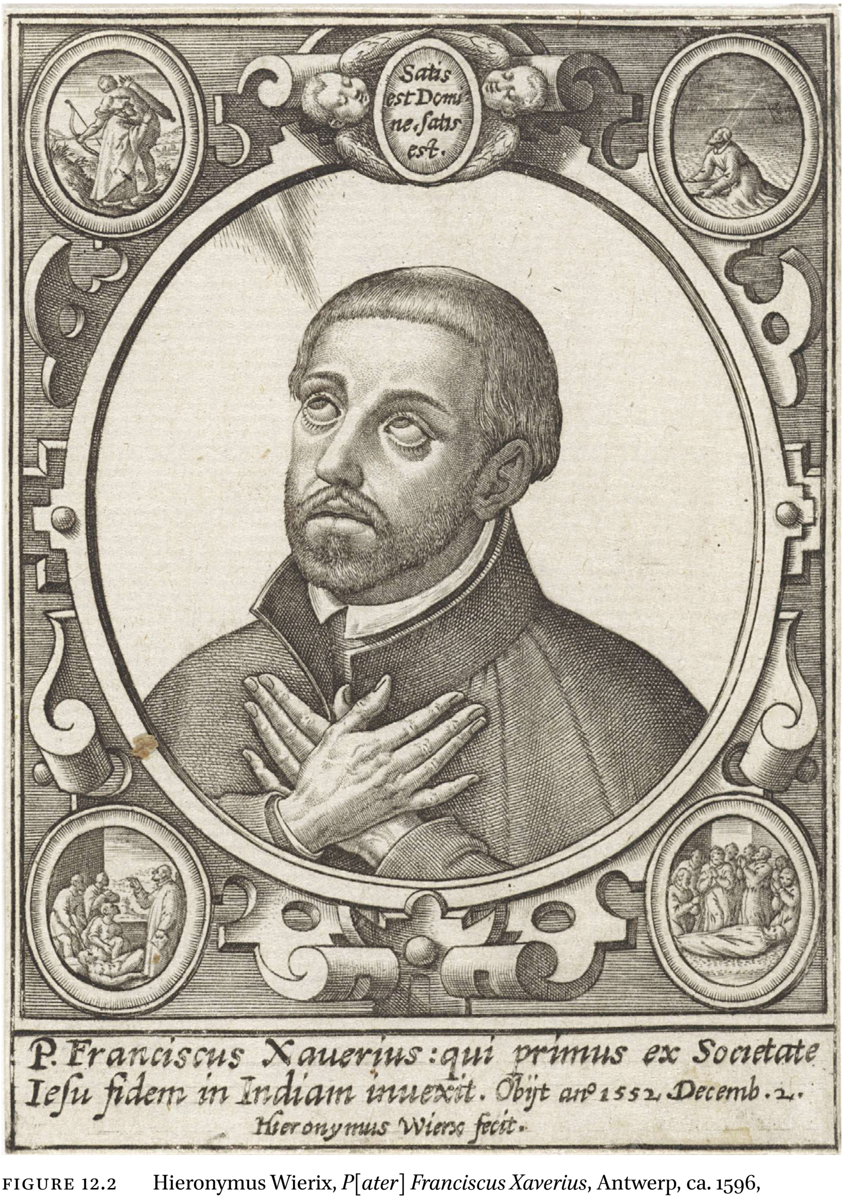
Satis est Domine, satis est.
P. Franciscus Xauerius: qui primus ex Societate Iesu fidem in Indiam inuexit. Obijt ano 1552 Decemb. 2.
Hieronymus Wierx fecit.

FIGURE 12.2 Hieronymus Wierix, *P*[*ater*] *Franciscus Xaverius*, Antwerp, ca. 1596, engraving, 8.4 × 6.1 cm, RM, RP-P-1904-843
SOURCE: RIJKSTUDIO

Regardless of the gesture used, the images emphasized the chest and especially the heart of Xavier, whose love of God was exceptional.

Torsellino described Xavier in the chapter on his death as "the image of the soul [and] the likeness of the happiness of heaven" (*imaginem animi, effigiem caelestis felicitatis*).[43] The biographer then incorporated a brief overview of the physical features and costume of the saint in the making, which corresponded with the engravings that accompanied the text. Torsellino did for Xavier what Ribadeneyra and Maffei had done for Ignatius, using chapters in their lives to supply physical details.[44] The textual description functioned as a surrogate death mask while also integrating other details, such as clothing and colouring. Miracles were present as well, but none, according to Torsellino, had occurred through images. The prints of Xavier by Galle and Wierix would be adapted in subsequent editions and translations of the *Life of Xavier*.[45]

Torsellino's biography had competition that same year in the form of a Portuguese life by João de Lucena. The two biographies had different intents, as seen in their dedications. While Torsellino dedicated his work to Pope Clement VIII, in the hope of facilitating papal support for the cause of canonization, Lucena's dedicatee was Catarina (1540–1614), the Duchess of Braganza and one of the unsuccessful claimants to the Portuguese throne in 1580. Torsellino directed his attention to the head of the universal church, whereas Lucena focused his attention on a member of a wealthy ducal family, who nonetheless wielded little influence within and outside of Portugal.[46] Lucena's *History of the Life of Father Francis Xavier* (*Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*), therefore, was a local affair. As Torsellino had done, Lucena focused on the lifetime of Xavier, with only brief chapters on the translation of the body to Goa and some of his posthumous miracles concluding the biography. The intercessions occurred through relics and not images, which is indicative of the relative scarcity of likenesses of Xavier at this time. The Portuguese Jesuit also used the chapter on the death of Xavier for a brief discussion of

---

[43] Torsellino, *Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome: 1596), 223–24.

[44] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1586), 268–69; Giampietro Maffei, *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae* (Rome: Francesco Zannetti, 1585), 200.

[45] Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Liège: Henricus Hovius, 1597); Orazio Torsellino, *Vida del P. Francisco Xauier de la Compañia de Jesus* (Valladolid: Juan Godínez de Millis, 1600).

[46] Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 1996), 87.

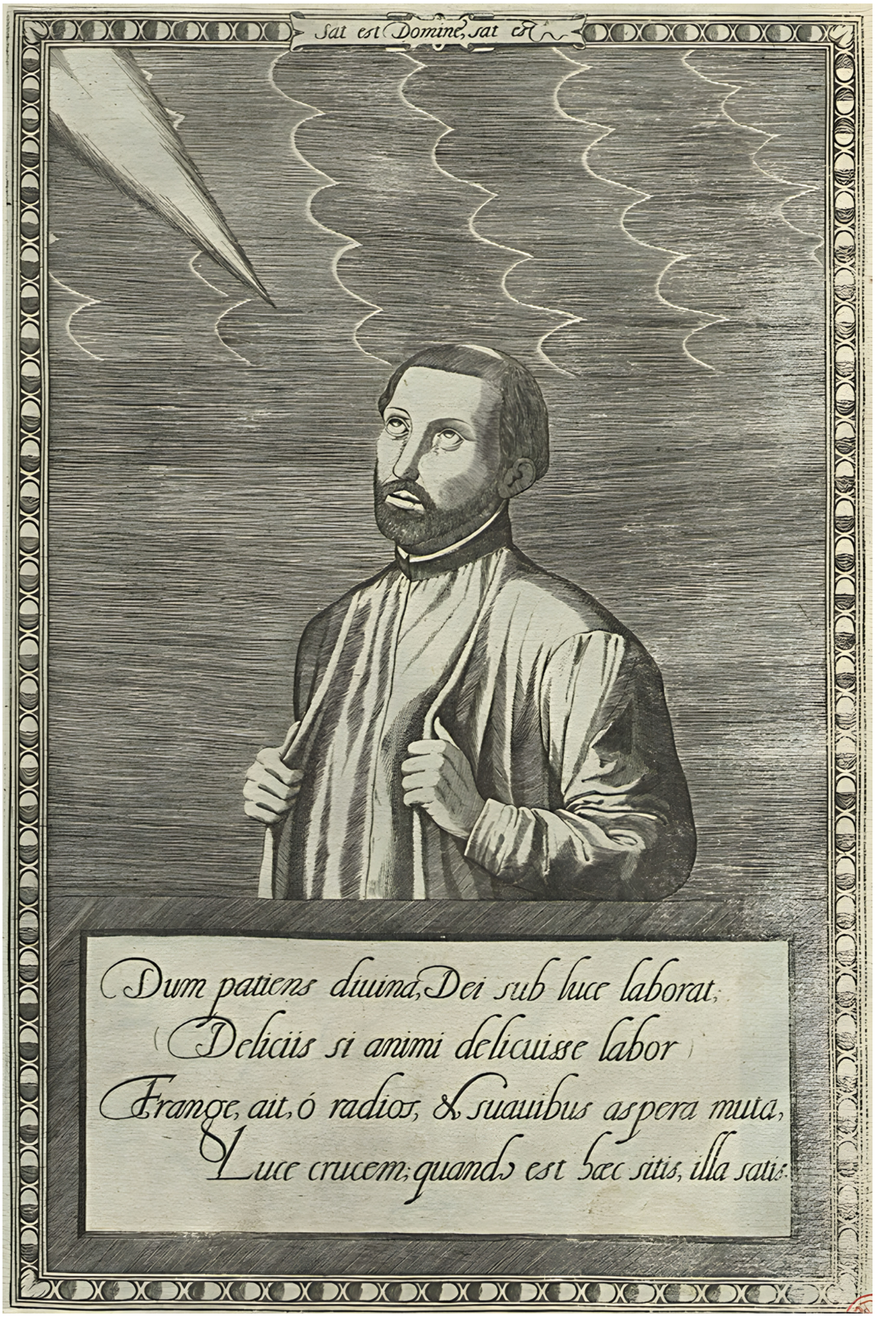
Sat est Domine, sat est
Dum patiens diuina, Dei sub luce laborat,
Deliciis si animi delicuisse labor
Frange, ait, ó radios, & suauibus aspera muta,
Luce crucem; quando est hæc sitis, illa satis.

FIGURE 12.3 *Franciscus Xaverius – Sat est Domine, sat est*, Lisbon, ca. 1600, engraving 30.5 × 48.3 cm in João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600), s.n., Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES-2258-V
SOURCE: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DIGITAL

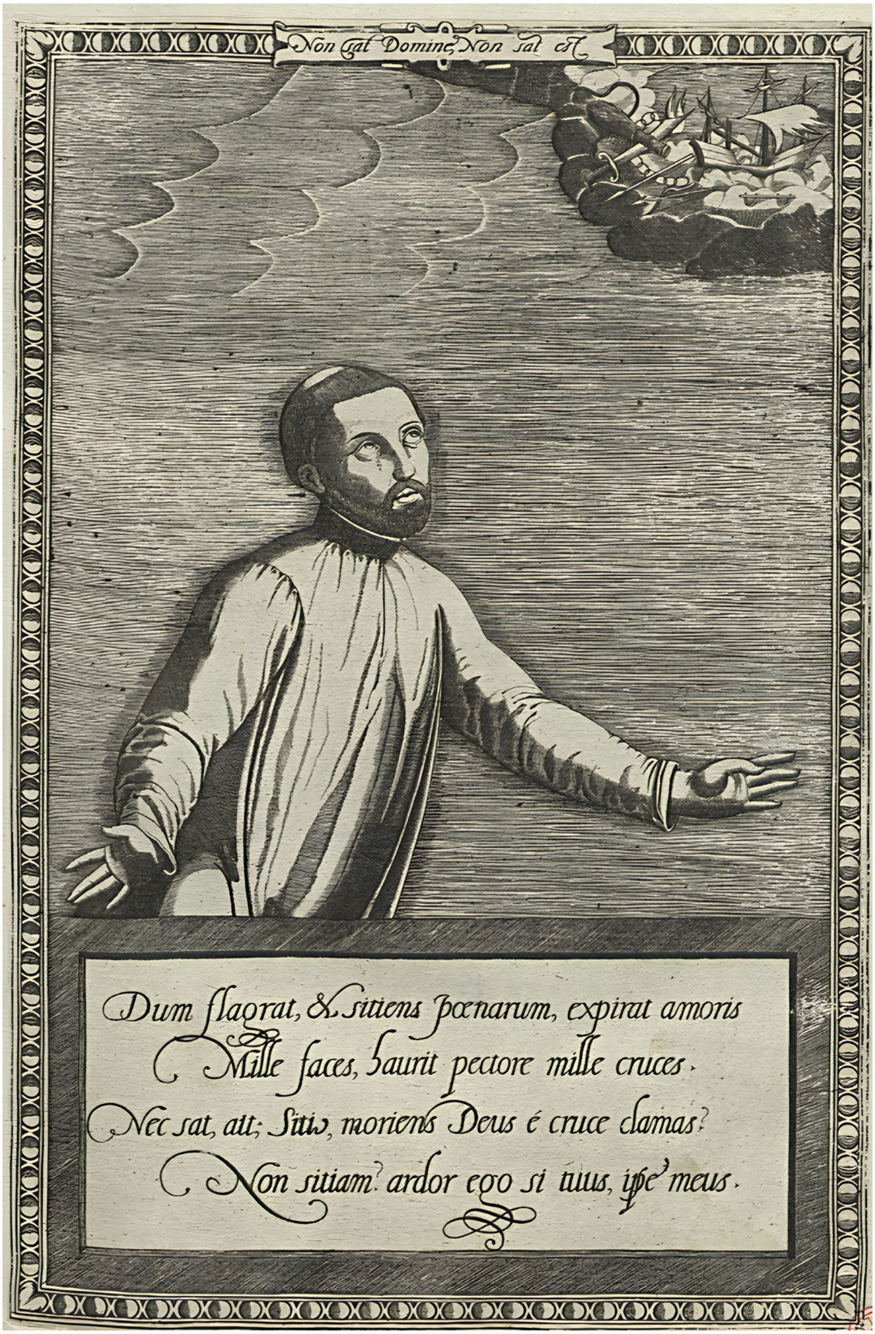
Non ſat Domine, Non ſat eſt
Dum flagrat, & sitiens pœnarum, expirat amoris
Mille faces, haurit pectore mille cruces.
Nec sat, ait; Sitio, moriens Deus é cruce clamas?
Non sitiam? ardor ego si tuus, ipse meus.

FIGURE 12.4 *Francisus Xaverius – Non sat Domine, non sat est*, Lisbon, ca. 1600, engraving 30.5 × 48.3 cm in João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600), s.n., Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, RES-2258-V

SOURCE: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DIGITAL

the face and features that differed little from Torsellino's.[47] Reminiscent of the 1596 copies of Torsellino's *Life*, the Portuguese book placed images of Xavier between the front matter and the start of the account (Figs. 12.3 and 12.4).

It was in Italy, however, where we see a concentrated effort at producing images for the saintly duo on the eve of the seventeenth century. The Jubilee Year of 1600 had pilgrims flock to Rome to have their sins pardoned. In response, local engravers prepared a flurry of prints of the new candidates of sainthood, which have been analysed by Ruth Noyes.[48] Giacomo Lauro completed images of both Ignatius and Xavier, while others fashioned individual broadsheets, such as that of Ignatius by Francesco Villamena (see Fig. 12.5).[49] Pope Clement VIII did not take kindly to these prints, which had the candidates labelled as blessed and adorned with halos around their heads. Since Xavier and Ignatius were not beatified, the pair could not be depicted as such. The presumptuousness was what prompted papal ire. To quell the conflict, Acquaviva intervened and placated the pope by promising to cease production. Clement allowed anything already published to continue to circulate.[50]

Images were also present in Jesuit institutions. In Rome, reported but undated copies of the Goan portrait of Xavier can be found in the Collegio Romano and the Chapel of the Professed House, both of which feature Xavier with a halo looking at luminescence in the upper left-hand corner. The Jesuit opens his cassock at his chest, allowing his love of God to emanate from his heart.[51] By this time, Xavier's cardiac exuberance had to contend with comparable distortions

---

[47] João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600), 885.

[48] Noyes, *Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis*, 90–141.

[49] Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *Estampa Contrarreforma y Carmelto Teresiano. La colección de grabados de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Pamplona y Leonor de la Misericordia* (Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Navarra, 2004), 105–8; Francesco Villamena, *Beatus Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1600, broadsheet, 55.5 × 42 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41, fol. 42; König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 101–9, 256; Eckhard Leuschner, "The Papal Printing Privilege," *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 359, 364; Noyes, *Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis*, 113–21.

[50] Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati Moderni* in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64.3 (Fall 2011): 800–46; Ditchfield, "Coping with the *Beati Moderni*," 425; Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 127–28; Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio 1592–1605. Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2004), 334–36.

[51] Pilar Andueza Unanua, "La *Vera Effigies* de San Francisco Javier," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes. El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra y Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 100–1.

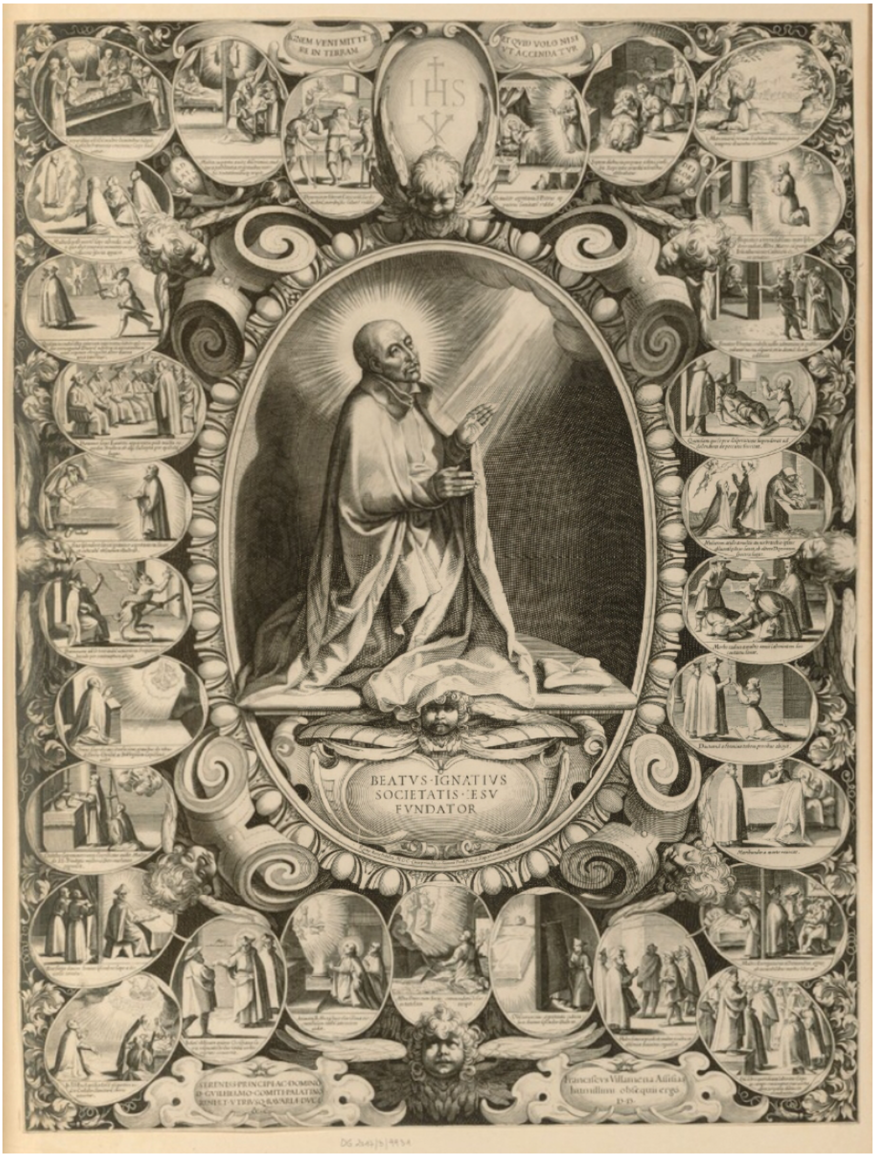
IGNEM VENI MITTERE IN TERRAM
ET QUID VOLO NISI VT ACCENDATVR
IHS
BEATVS·IGNATIVS SOCIETATIS·IESV FVNDATOR
SERENISS PRINCIPI AC DOMINO D·GVILIELMO·COMITI PALATINO RHENI ET VTRIVSQ·BAVARIÆ DVCI
Franciscvs Villamena Assisias humillimi obsequi ergo D·D·

FIGURE 12.5 Francesco Villamena, *Beatus Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1600, broadsheet, 55.5 × 42 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41, fol. 42
SOURCE: ALBERTINA SAMMLUNGEN ONLINE

to the bodies of other candidates for sainthood.[52] Xavier's inflamed heart was a supernatural sign of God overcoming the frailty of the body through his love for his saints. The proliferation, originating from Goa and occurring through European print culture, became the springboard for the global visual culture of Xavier. Nor were these representations found only in Rome. At the Jesuit college in Florence, there were silver figurines (*argentea sigilla*) prepared for both Ignatius and Xavier. A painted portrait of Xavier had been planned for the same church to complement the one of Ignatius that was already in place.[53]

Ribadeneyra's allergy to the miracles of the Jesuit founder had been overcome, as seen in his new life found in the hagiographical compilation titled the *Flower of the Saints* (*Flos sanctorum*), published in 1601. His new interpretation of Ignatius enumerated seventy-two miracles after a truncated biography based on his earlier *Life*. While the foundation of the Society remained important, Ribadeneyra realized that a canonization candidate required healings, exorcisms, and the like. Part of this change was probably motivated by his testimony given in the 1595 process in Madrid, where he was asked about the miraculous and supernatural feats attributed to the founder. Earlier hesitations on the matter of miracles impeded the founder's cause. Since he supplied the biography and virtues, Ribadeneyra now enumerated the intercessions, which included nautical rescues in the Caribbean and obstetric aid to women in rural Slovakia, Bavaria, Mallorca, and Rome.[54] Ignatius was now a thaumaturge, as seen in Ribadeneyra's *Flower* and as depicted in the broadsheets from Rome published in 1600. Both Jesuit candidates for sainthood had robust presences in print explicating and depicting their lives, virtues, and miracles.

The exertion to have the two Jesuits canonized was complicated first in 1602 by the creation of the Congregation of the Blessed (Congregazione dei Beati) by Clement VIII to curtail devotional excesses in the cults of what are known as the modern blesseds (*beati moderni*), which included Ignatius and Xavier. This Congregation's responsibilities extended to the images of a candidate for sainthood, with the perceived visual excesses of the Jesuits being among the most egregious.[55] Although the meetings of the Congregation of the Blessed were sporadic during the rest of his pontificate, members tasked Clement with considering the causes of some of the modern blesseds. He conceded and decreed that the canonization processes for seven of the candidates ought to proceed. Ignatius's cause was among them.[56]

---

[52] Bradford A. Bouley, *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 54–55, 61–62.

[53] *Litterae annuae Societatis Iesu anni MDC* (Antwerp: Heirs of Martijn Nuyts and Jan van Meurs, 1618), 29.

[54] Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599–1601), 2: 846–70. For broader context, see also Jonathan E. Greenwood, "Los milagros americanos de Ignacio de Loyola y la red de información transatlántica de los jesuitas," *Hispania sacra* 72.146 (2020): 493–96; idem, "Miracles in Writing: Obstetric Intercessions, Scribal Relics, and Jesuit News in the Early Modern Global Cult of Ignatius of Loyola," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 349–50.

The cults of these saints and their devotional objects were not limited to Europe. The Japanese daimyo Ōtomi Yoshishige, who ruled the region around Funai, was a devotee and took Francisco as his baptismal name in honour of Xavier.[57] The daimyo sent letters to Rome in 1583 for "his holiness [the pope] to beatify the holy father Master Francis so that we can produce churches, altars, images, say Masses, [and] recite the Holy Office."[58] In the Philippines, the Jesuit college in Manila reported on the decoration of its church in 1603. The recently completed altarpiece included an upper arch depicting Ignatius and his vision of the Holy Trinity, along with a portrait flanked by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Above that appeared a scene of Ignatius and Xavier standing between Jesus.[59] Across the Pacific Ocean, the Viceroyalty of Peru had a greater number of representations. The Peruvian Provincial in 1604 spoke of a chapel at the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pablo (now the Iglesia de San Pedro) in Lima in which there were "two large and beautiful images they made of Our Blessed Father [Ignatius and] Blessed Francis Xavier that they suppose [are] the first in this region [shown] in public."[60] The pairing of images was not limited to the viceregal capital. In 1607 and at the college in Cuzco, its rector was in the middle of communion when a lightning bolt landed next to him. Not only was he unharmed, but the lightning had gone through the images in the altarpiece, which included likenesses of Ignatius and Xavier. The damage, as the letter reported, was around the pair's praying hands, which were smoking. It was a sign that the Lord cared deeply for the representations of "his great servants" (*sus grandes sieruos*).[61]

---

[55] Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center," 805–6.

[56] Renoux, "The Quintuple Canonization of 1622," 193–94.

[57] Osswald, "Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier," 260; Makoto Harris Takao, "Francis Xavier at the Court of Ōtomi Yoshishige: Representations of Religious Disputation between Jesuits and Buddhists in *La conversione alla santa fede del re di Bungo giaponese* (1703)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3 (2016): 453–54.

[58] ARSI, Japonica Sinica 9-II, 195r: Ōtomi Yoshishige to Alessandro Valignano, Bungo, 4 December 1583. "sua sanctidade beatificar ao sancto padre Mistre Fran[cis]co pera q[ue] ilhe possamos hazer ygrejas, altares, imagens, dizer mizas, de rezar os off[ici]os diuinos."

[59] ARSI, Philippinae 5, 151v: Juan de Ribera, *Carta annua de la viceprovincia de las Islas Philippinas del mes de junio de mil y seycientos y tres hasta el de mill y seycientos y quatro*, Manila?, June 1604?.

[60] ARSI, Peruana 12, 354r: Esteban Páez, *Letras annuas de la Prouincia del Piru por el año de mil y seiscientos y quatro*, Cusco, 2 April 1605. "dos ymagines grandes y hermosas, que hizieron de N[uest]ro B[ienaventurado] P[adr]e [y] del Buenabenturado Francisco Xauier las primeras que en este reyno suponen en publico."

Back in Europe, the decrees of the Sixth General Congregation revisited the causes of the two Jesuit saints. Decree 3 suggests that more than one province requested the pursuit of the canonizations, which "should be urged with the Supreme Pontiff and with others to whom it pertains. The response was that this was to be done at the proper time."[62] What is confusing about the Sixth General Congregation's third decree was its disconnection from the new round of processes for Ignatius (see Table 12.1). These were the apostolic or remissorial ones; the second stage "called after the remissorial letters sent from Rome to convene them under apostolic authority."[63] The assessment of the documents from the informative processes determined whether there was sufficient evidence to pursue a candidate's cause for sainthood. If so, the cardinals in the Congregation of Sacred Rites then investigated the life, virtues, and miracles of a candidate for sainthood. The final step was to review the paperwork from the apostolic processes by three auditors of the Rota, the highest court of the Catholic church, that supplied a final summation to the pope and the Congregation about a holy person's status as a saint.[64] This second stage had ended the year before the Sixth General Congregation, which ought to have been more enthused about the progress of the cause for Ignatius. Xavier's process remained in a state of suspended animation, with no advancement or change since the 1550s.

While the Jesuit biographies of Ignatius had less prominence in the apostolic process, images featured extensively. The process in Barcelona, for example, discussed a 1599 miracle that occurred in Naples, involving a noblewoman experiencing mammary pain and swelling. Physicians could do nothing, but her veneration of an image cured her instantly. The noblewoman in her testimony had mentioned that her mother supplied her with this portrait.[65] Her brother, then a viceroy and at whose house the miracle transpired, spoke of a "figure" (*figura*) of the founder being applied to her breast.[66] The siblings' mother further corroborated her children's testimonies.[67] Yet the discussion of images also included regular references to ex-votos fashioned in silver and wax. Il Gesù, the Jesuit mother church in Rome and then the burial site of Ignatius, held many of these objects. The same noblewoman revealed this in her testimony, as did a witness in Brussels.[68] A respondent in the Florentine process declared their ignorance about the founder's tomb but could testify about an Ignatian image surrounded with ex-votos supplied, by him, his spouse, and the wife of a local nobleman in recognition of the intercession by the Jesuit.[69] Depictions of the saint were regularly cited in the apostolic processes, even if details were scarce. Likenesses functioned as conduits for supernatural healing and as evidence of a community's devotion to this candidate for sainthood.

---

[61] ARSI, Peruana 13, 43r: Sebastián Habañero, *Letras annuas de la Prouincia del Piru deste año de 1607*, Lima, 27 March 1608.

[62] *Matters of Greater Moment*, 218.

[63] Ditchfield, "Thinking with Jesuit Saints," 336.

[64] Copeland, *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi*, 119–20.

[65] Testimony of Giovanna d'Aragona, Barcelona, 26 May 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2: 666–67.

[66] Testimony of Ettore Pignatelli, Barcelona, 26 May 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2: 659–60.

4 Recognizing Jesuit Blesseds

The outcome of the apostolic processes was the beatification by Pope Paul v of Ignatius in 1609. In his papal brief, Paul permitted Jesuits to have observances in their churches on 31 July, the feast day of Ignatius.[70] Before the seventeenth century, beatification had no clear meaning, which persisted despite the foundation of the Congregation of the Blesseds in 1602. Beatification was a partial acknowledgment of a candidate's sainthood and allowed for veneration in specific communities, including cities and religious orders. Canonization, which bestowed the title of saint on a candidate, typically required beatification and evidence of subsequent miracles. During the early seventeenth century, there was no consistency in implementation, although the processes for the two Jesuits shared the same trajectory. First were the informative and apostolic inquiries followed by the beatification and then canonization of a candidate. Where the two causes differed, though, was in their timing. The informative processes for Xavier occurred in the 1550s, and the apostolic stage only began in 1610. Once underway, Xavier went from the second round of processes to canonization in twelve years. The entire cause for Ignatius, meanwhile, took slightly less than three decades.[71]

The time was now appropriate to have representations that delineated not only the biographical details of Ignatius but also his thaumaturgical prowess.

---

[67] Testimony of Girolama Colona, Barcelona, 26 May 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2: 664–65.

[68] Testimony of Frans de Costere, Brussels, 26 April 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2: 857–58.

[69] Testimony of Donato Galigai, Florence, 10 November 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2: 858.

[70] Paul v, *Breve beatificationis P. Ignatii*, Rome, 3 December 1609, in *MI Scripta* 2: 954–56.

[71] Bouley, *Pious Postmortems*, 19–20.

This manifested in the guise of illustrated lives, wherein engravings paired with brief captions depicted key moments and aspects of the Jesuit founder, those that illustrate literally and figuratively his sanctity. The first, published in Rome in 1609, was a response to the beatification. The work, according to Ursula König-Nordhoff, had been completed by 1605 and lay in wait until the time was right for publication.[72] The eighty-one prints start with a title page with medallions of Ignatius and other Jesuit luminaries, including Xavier. Everyone featured therein was identified as blessed, even though Ignatius alone could be labeled as such. This premature designation that had proven to be so problematic less than a decade earlier was ignored. Next came a portrait of Ignatius reminiscent of the Conte painting from 1556. The remaining seventy-nine were a panorama of all things Ignatian, which drew extensively on the lives of Ribadeneyra. The Roman illustrated life, however, focused on the events during the lifetime of Ignatius, with engraving 77 depicting his death paired with the vision of the founder's ascent into heaven. While healings and exorcisms performed in life (prints 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 74, and 75) feature in the work, the only posthumous occurrences enumerated were the healing of a girl with scrofula (78) and the translation of his body once the Jesuit mother church Il Gesù was completed in 1585 (79). Unable to reach the funeral bier due to the crowds assembled, a Roman youth took a snippet of the founder's clothing, placing it on her neck. The tumour disappeared instantly. The caption elaborated further that the leaves (*folia*) and flowers (*flores*) taken from the same spot healed untold others of unspecified ailments. The translation resulted in no cures, but the spot where he had lain filled with stars, and otherworldly singing could be heard.[73]

Unsurprisingly, the Roman illustrated life did not look far afield for such signs of the saintliness of Ignatius. Moreover, if this work was completed circa 1605, the miracles examined during the apostolic processes could not be integrated. Xavier, in contrast, had a print (59) dedicated to him, suggestive of the fusing of the cults of him and Ignatius, something done, as we have seen, in the decoration of Jesuit churches across the world. The missionary sits on a cliff and writes in a makeshift and outdoor study: his desk is a rock, whereas his altar comprises a cross made from two sticks that are then tied to a tree stump. The caption is a quotation from a 1549 letter by Xavier telling Ignatius about his utmost reverence for the "father of my soul" (*pater animae meae*).[74]

---

[72] O'Malley, *Saints and Devils Incarnate*, 259–61; König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 118–21, 277–324.

[73] *Vita Beati P*[*atris*] *Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609).

[74] *Vita Beati Ignatii Loiolae* (Rome: 1609), 59.

The two causes for canonization seemingly converged. And as was done in the illustrated life's frontispiece, Xavier was labelled as blessed, despite having yet to be beatified.

A team of engravers realized a second illustrated life, one printed in Antwerp a year later in 1610. This gathering of sixteen engravings, while shorter in length than its counterpart from Rome, was larger physically.[75] The work from Antwerp also focused on the lifetime of Ignatius, which drew from a cycle of paintings from Madrid commissioned by Ribadeneyra. Ignatius's Spanish biographer also tasked the Flemish engravers linked with the workshop of Theodoor Galle to translate the paintings into prints. Moreover, the captions accompanying the images included citations to specific parts of the books by Ribadeneyra. The Jesuit in Madrid continued to exert his influence through his involvement in crafting definitive portraits of Ignatius, which persisted until his death in 1611.

Where the two illustrated lives diverge is the Flemish work's inclusion of a map of Ignatian Rome and a depiction of the founder's miracles. Jan (II) Collaert was responsible for this concluding print comprising nine vignettes of miracles (Fig. 12.6).[76] In Scenes A through F, Collaert leaned heavily on the 1600 broadsheet by Villamena. Types of miracles – exorcisms, resurrections, obstetric aid, and healings – featured generally with Collaert duplicating the iconography and captions developed by Villamena. Scenes A, B, C, and F were specific episodes from Ignatius's lifetime discussed during the processes. Collaert developed imagery in Scenes G, H, and I for events absent from the Roman broadsheet. Two involved miracles outside of Europe. Scene G recounted a shipwreck in the Philippines averted by an image in 1601, while Scene H depicted the 1603 resurrection of an Indigenous infant in northern Mexico.[77]

---

[75] The Roman life is 15.2 × 20.3 cm, while that from Antwerp is 26.8 × 36.5 cm. Key scholarship on the Flemish illustrated life includes Walter S. Melion, "'In sensus cadentem imaginem': Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle's *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 63–107; Catherine Phillips, "Between Madrid and Antwerp: *The Life of Ignatius Loyola*, Antwerp, 1610: Drawings from the Collection of Count Charles Cobenzl," *In Monte Artium* 11 (2018): 47–63; Ann Diels and Marjolein Leesberg, *The Collaert Dynasty*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2005–6), 4: 176–82; Alfonso Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos, "La iconografía de San Ignacio de Loyola y los ciclos pintados de su vida en España y Hispanoamérica," *Cuadernos ignacianos* 5 (2004): 44–45; König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 265–69.

[76] Jan (II) Collaert, *The Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Antwerp, 1610, engraving, 26.8 × 36.5 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-292.

[77] Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas* (Rome: Stefano Paulino, 1604), 140–43; Francisco Javier Fluvià, *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Pablo Nadal, 1753), 2: 301–2.

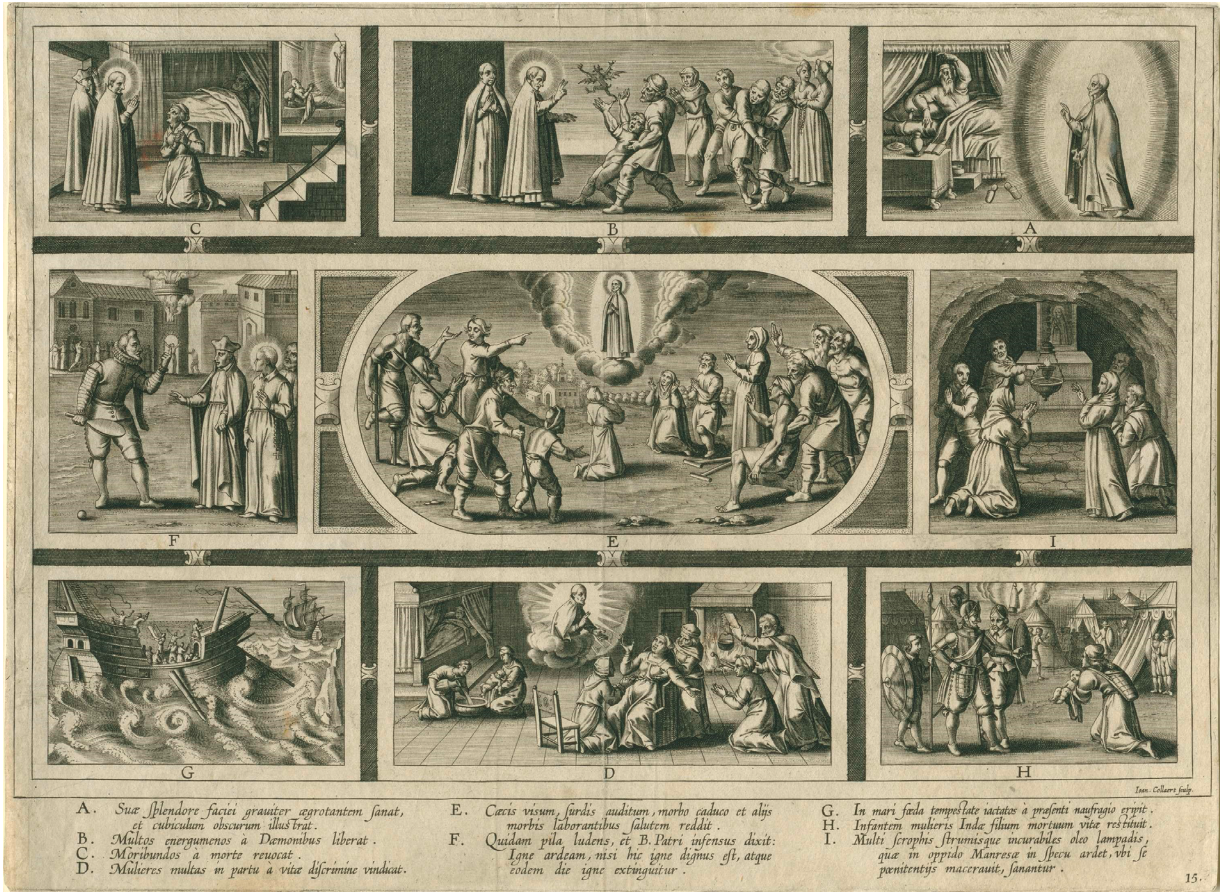
C
B
A
F
E
I
G
D
H
Ioan. Collaert ſculp.
A. Suæ ſplendore faciei grauiter ægrotantem ſanat, et cubiculum obscurum illuſtrat.
B. Multos energumenos à Dæmonibus liberat.
C. Moribundos à morte reuocat.
D. Mulieres multas in partu à vitæ diſcrimine vindicat.
E. Cæcis visum, ſurdis auditum, morbo caduco et alijs morbis laborantibus ſalutem reddit.
F. Quidam pila ludens, et B. Patri infensus dixit: Igne ardeam, nisi hic igne dignus eſt, atque eodem die igne extinguitur.
G. In mari fœda tempeſtate iactatos à præſenti naufragio eripit.
H. Infantem mulieris Indæ filium mortuum vitæ reſtituit.
I. Multi ſcrophis ſtrumiſque incurabiles oleo lampadis, quæ in oppido Manresæ in ſpecu ardet, vbi ſe pœnitentijs macerauit, ſanantur.
15.

FIGURE 12.6 Jan (II) Collaert, *The Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Antwerp, 1610, engraving, 26.8 × 36.5 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-292
SOURCE: RIJKSTUDIO

These occurrences were never scrutinized as part of the official procedure. The recent apostolic process in Manresa, however, informed Scene I, which had devotees in a chapel in the cave where Ignatius drafted the *Spiritual Exercises*. The oil from its lamps and the image of Ignatius found there healed many, including those suffering from scrofula.[78] The Flemish engraver did not list his sources but seemed to have access to earlier prints, the writings by Ribadeneyra, mission histories, and information from canonization processes at his disposal to prepare this representation of the founder's posthumous performance of miracles.

Despite the stalled status of the cause for Xavier, images of him did not abate, as seen in the 1613 etching by Manuel Godinho de Erédia (1563–1623), a person of mixed Portuguese and Burginese ancestry from Malacca and an alumnus of the Jesuit college in his hometown.[79] In a long manuscript about south and southeast Asia, Erédia punctuated the text with maps, still lifes of flora, a self-portrait, and likenesses of Portuguese viceroys, local Indigenous persons, and Xavier. On the right-hand side of Erédia's portrait is the Christogram of the Blessed Name of Jesus (IHS) contained within a crest. Xavier with stubble wears a tonsure as monks – not Jesuits – do. The Asian artist introduces angularity with a larger protruding nose and sunken cheeks. The cassock is consistent with that of Catholic clergy in India, which Xavier clutches and bunches around his chest. Finally, Erédia gave Xavier a halo, something apparent in the images already discussed.[80] Only candidates recognized by beatification and canonization could have these nimbi. Yet this regulation was often disregarded, as seen in the etching by Erédia. To adapt André Vauchez's quip, Xavier experienced beatification with brushstrokes and stippling.[81]

Processes for Xavier got underway during the 1610s. Even though the Fifth and Sixth General Congregations decided to pursue the cause of Xavier, assessments of his sanctity waited until after the beatification of Ignatius. His cult was robust, as seen in 1614 when Goan Jesuits had his right arm, encased in a silver reliquary, and transported to rest in Il Gesù in Rome.[82] Despite his popularity, Xavier now was the one to have his sainthood scrutinized. Surprisingly, the Seventh General Congregation held amid the apostolic processes (see Table 12.1) made no mention of additional efforts to canonize Xavier. The biographies and images prepared during the 1590s and early 1600s were key to popularizing ideas about the candidate for sainthood. In the Lisbon process, several witnesses, when asked about their awareness of the Jesuit missionary, responded that their knowledge came from the life by João de Lucena, as evident in the testimonies ranging from a retired soldier to a priest.[83]

---

[78] Testimony of Francesc Capdepòs, Manresa, 6 September 1606, in *MI Scripta* 2:718.

[79] Josef Franz Schütte, "Manoel Godinho de Erédia, 'Entdecker' der Terra Australis," *AHSI* 38, fasc. 75 (January–June 1969): 293–96.

[80] BRB, Département des cartes et plans, manuscrit 7264, 47r: Manuel Godinho de Éredia, *Declaracam de Malaca e India meridional o Cathay em III tract*, 1613.

[81] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88.

[82] Urte Krass, "Naked Bones, Empty Caskets, and a Faceless Bust: Christian Relics and Reliquaries between Europe and Asia during Early Modern Globalisation," in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, eds. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 375–76.

The familiarity was also visual, since many of the previously discussed biographies included engravings. The processes also referenced images of Xavier venerated by the faithful in Rome and Goa. Details related to iconography and attribution were absent, making pinpointing specific likenesses difficult in the witnesses' testimonies.[84] And in the 1619 document prepared by the Roman Rota on their findings of the sanctity and miracles of Xavier, there is regular mention of the biographies composed decades earlier. Filed under the posthumous miracles of Xavier, the incorruptibility of his body is given a bibliography of sources, which included Torsellino and Lucena.[85] The Rota cited anyone they thought pertinent. The summation for a case of a miraculous image drew on witness statements from Kochi, the *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, and narrations (*relationes*) prepared by the Rota for previous successful causes during the early Congregation era.[86] Although this essay focuses on the canonizations of Ignatius and Xavier, they were part of a broader framework to proffer evidence of a candidate's sanctity with the aid of other earlier canonizations. There was certainly enough material since Pope Paul v beatified Xavier in 1619.

5 Conclusions – the Canonizations of 1622

Pope Gregory xv made the sainthoods of Ignatius and Xavier official in March 1622. Canonization was no mere formality. Rather, it was the outcome of extensive discussions within the Sacred Congregation of Rites starting with the legitimacy of the informative and apostolic processes so that the testimonies gathered therein can be judged valid. Once this had been determined, the virtues and miracles of a beatified candidate would be assessed further. The discussion on the processes for Ignatius and Xavier commenced toward the end of May 1621. What resulted was an account drafted by a cardinal in the Congregation assigned to the cause. Having gained a cardinalate in the recent papal conclave, Francesco Sacrati was responsible for the causes of the two Jesuits. Since both rounds of processes were found to be legitimate, the virtues and miracles could now be considered, which began for Xavier and Ignatius in September. After much back and forth and several private and public consistories that continued into early February 1622, the canonizations took place the next month.[87] Devotions to the pair of Jesuits could now be observed everywhere.

---

[83] ADP, codice 465, 96v: Testimony of Francisco Lopes Carrasco, Lisbon, 28 January 1615; 126r: Testimony of Francisco da Costa, Lisbon, 5 March 1615.

[84] Testimony of Francisco da Costa, 121v; ADP, codice 465, 130r: Testimony of Aleixo de Menezes, Lisbon, 7 March 1615.

[85] ARSI, Postulazione 23, 132: *Relatio super sanctitate & miraculis P. Francisci Xaverii Societatis Iesu*, ca. 1619. I am grateful to Elisa Frei for bringing this work to my attention.

[86] *Relatio super sanctitate & miraculis P. Francisci Xaverii*, 143–48.

The official documentation for the causes, namely the bulls of canonization and the accounts of the papal consistories, make no mention of the biographies of the two Jesuit saints. Images, when they do appear, relate only to miracles. The authoritative intercessions of Ignatius included three healings thanks to the same image in the Spanish city of Gandia in 1601 along with the aid given to a Neapolitan noblewoman in 1599 through a portrait of the founder.[88] A likeness of Xavier that replenished lamps of their oil was deemed miraculous, as was the oil's cure of a person suffering from dysentery. Xaverian images also made a blind man see and a leper clean.[89] The importance of devotional representations within the context of canonizations derived from their prominence within miracles, one of the crucial determiners of sainthood. Matters of iconography, however, were irrelevant in the documentation. Lives were launch points for the witness statements taken at processes that then provided the legal evidence for claims of sanctity to be made. The bulls for canonization published much later were scaled-back summaries of the consistory accounts.[90]

This essay sought to examine the nature of the devotional books and images that contributed to the cults of Ignatius and Xavier, while also situating these within the technical components of the two causes. Images in the years leading up to 1622 connected the pair. Jan-Baptist Barbé, who fashioned the engravings for the Roman illustrated life of Ignatius, prepared a pair of undated prints around and after the beatification of Xavier in 1619 (Fig. 12.7). Barbé focused less on biographical details and more on the signs of their sanctity. Cures aside, Barbé illustrated the incorruptibility of Xavier's body in Malacca and Goa. The appearance of Peter to Ignatius featured in Barbé's print along with healings, the foundation of the Society, and his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. And once the two Jesuits were canonized, Barbé changed the founder's title from *Blessed Father* (B.P.) to *Saint* (S.) when he reissued his images.[91] The Flemish illustrated life and the broadsheet by Francesco Villamena had similar modifications when published soon after the canonizations.[92] Reprints of the biographies occurred as well. For Ignatius, Ribadeneyra's *Flower* had printings in Spanish, French, English, Latin, Italian, and Dutch.[93] Torsellino's life of Xavier continued to be published, with new translations emerging in subsequent decades, such as one in English (1632).[94] Content prepared decades earlier was often reused and revised to benefit devotees wanting to see and read about the candidate that they venerated. This often occurred amid certain stages, including the processes, the beatification, and the canonization. Also important was an organization's want for these devotional objects as evident here with the Society as early as the lifetimes of Ignatius and Xavier. Interest, however, persisted after the canonizations, with new accounts of the Jesuits being prepared throughout the seventeenth century. Nor was this limited to the languages of western Europe. For Ignatius, offerings included works in Croatian, Chinese, and Vietnamese.[95]

---

[87] Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione*, 272–82.

[88] Francesco Maria del Monte, *Relatio facta … super vita, sanctitate, actis canonizationis et miraculis Beati Ignatii fundatoris Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Heirs of Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1622), 35–38, 42.

[89] Francesco Maria del Monte, *Relatio facta … super vita, sanctitate, actis canonizationis et miraculis Beati Francisci Xavier e Societate Iesu* (Rome: Heirs of Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1622), 52, 54–55.

[90] Urban VIII, *Bulla, siue litterae decretales Canonizationis S. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1626); Urban VIII, *Bulla canonizationis Sancti Francisci Xaverii* (Madrid: Francisco de Ocampo, 1635).

---

[91] Jan-Baptist Barbé, *B[eatus] P[ater] Ignatius de Loyola*, Antwerp, ca. 1619, engraving, 32.7 × 25.1 cm, BRB, Cabinet des estampes, S.I 5214, N.M. 79; idem, *S[anctus] P[ater] Ignatius de Loyola*, Antwerp, 1622, engraving, [32.7 × 25.1 cm], AV, Hofbibliothek I 56, fol. 54; BRB, Cabinet des estampes, S.I 5214, N.M. 79; idem, *S[anctus] Franciscus Xaverius*, Antwerp, ca. 1622, engraving, 32.7 × 25.1 cm, BRB, Cabinet des estampes, S.I 5217. The print of Ignatius at the Albertina has on the same page the engraving of Xavier. The one that I have been unable to locate is a print of Francis Xavier identified as Blessed.

[92] Workshop of Jan Galle, *Vita Sancti Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp: Jan Galle, 1622) – Katholieke Universiteit Leuven Libraries, Maurits Sabbe Library P Plano 137 RIBA Vita. Francesco Villamena, *Sanctus Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1625, broadsheet, 55.5 × 42 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41 fol. 42a.

[93] Greenwood, "Tracing the Cult," 158, 168–69.

[94] Sommervogel, 8:140–42. The English work in question is: Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier deuided into VI bookes*, trans. Thomas Fitzherbert (Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1632).

[95] Greenwood, "Tracing the Cult," 138, 173; Nadine Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs: Domestic Worship in Early Modern China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 96, 129.

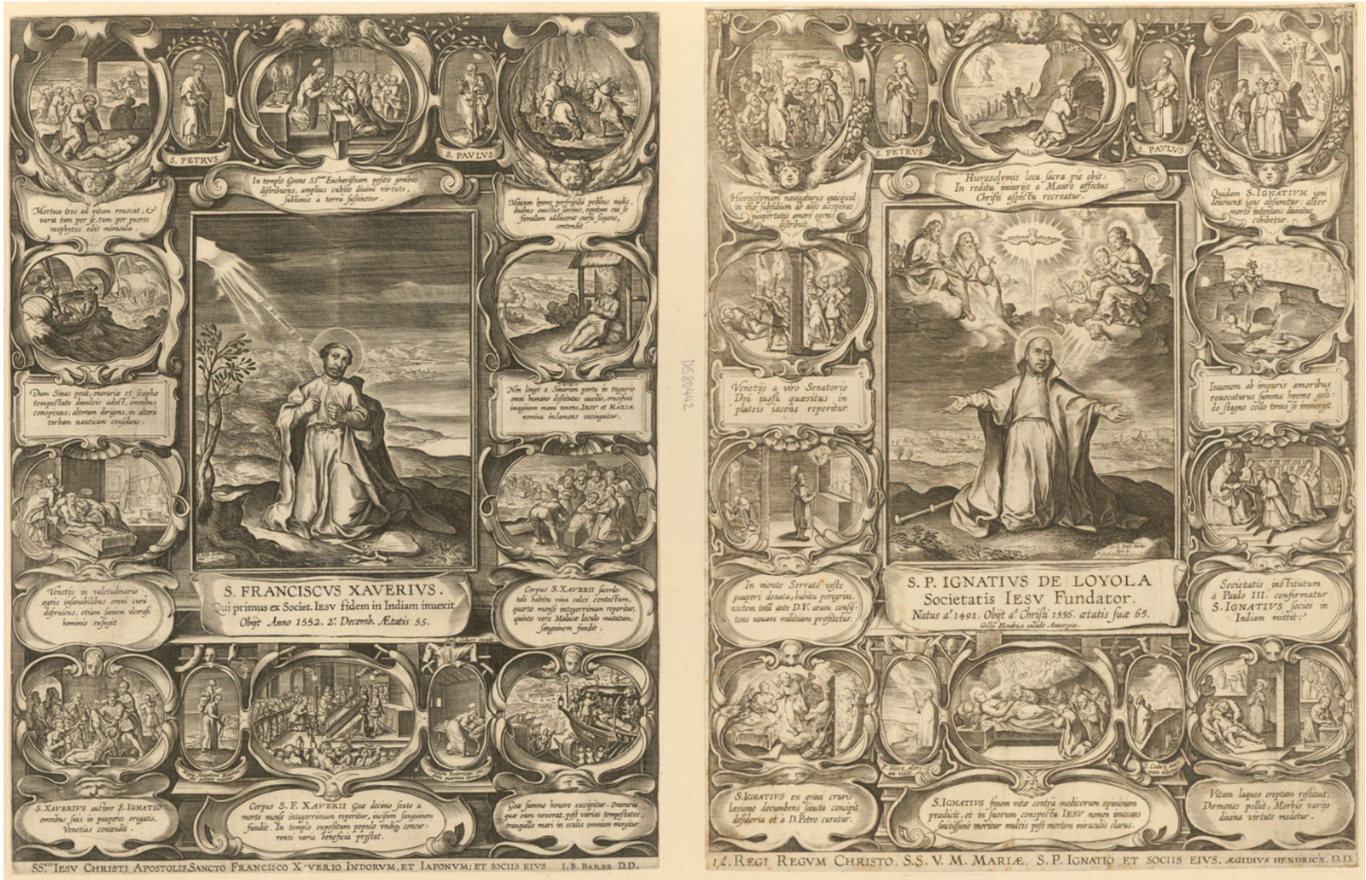
S. PETRVS
S. PAVLVS
S. FRANCISCVS XAVERIVS.
Qui primus ex Societ. IESV fidem in Indiam inuexit.
Obijt Anno 1552. 2°. Decemb. Ætatis 55.
SS.mo IESV CHRISTI APOSTOLIS, SANCTO FRANCISCO XAVERIO INDORVM, ET IAPONVM; ET SOCIIS EIVS. I.B. BARBE D.D.
S.P. IGNATIVS DE LOYOLA
Societatis IESV Fundator.
Natus a°. 1491. Obijt a°. Christi 1556. ætatis suæ 65.
I.C. REGI REGVM CHRISTO. S.S. V. M. MARIÆ. S.P. IGNATIO ET SOCIIS EIVS. ÆGIDIVS HENDRICX. D.D.
DG80442

FIGURE 12.7 Jan-Baptist Barbé, *S. Franciscus Xaverius* and *S. P. Ignatius Loyola*, Antwerp, ca. 1622, engraving, 66.2 × 49.3 cm (entire page), AV, Hofbibliothek I 56, fol. 54

SOURCE: ALBERTINA SAMMLUNGEN ONLINE

The visual culture before and after the canonization combined the two cults, which is evident in its global context. The famous Japanese image of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary had the pair gazing at the Blessed Name of Jesus and the host and chalice used in the Blessed Sacrament. Linked with the Jesuit-run Niccolò school of painting, an unnamed artist fashioned the representation sometime between 1590 and 1614.[96] The connection with the Virgin Mary is evident elsewhere, as seen in a painting of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception made in Bogotá. Here, haloed Ignatius and Xavier genuflect to Mary. The founder holds open the Jesuit *Constitutions*, whereas the missionary brings attention to his inflamed heart.[97] An account of the festivities for the canonization held in Pont-à-Mousson in northeastern France included images to accompany the text. An elaborate altarpiece included three paintings. In the middle were Ignatius and Xavier, genuflecting in the air, gazing at the Christ child, while surrounded by a squadron of angels. Elsewhere in the church were a dozen large pictures (*grands tableaux*), some fourteen-by-sixteen *pieds de Roi* in size (454.77 × 519.74 cm), that illustrated noteworthy acts and the miracles for the saintly duo.[98]

By 1622, Ignatius and Xavier became integrated into traditional devotions, such as those for Mary and Jesus, as well as intramural ones, wherein the exempla of the Society would furnish the next round of potential saints, who would be subject to the reforms to canonization procedure by Urban VIII. Testimonies gathered at the informative and apostolic processes superseded the biographies of the candidates, which functioned as promotional materials. The exchange was not unidirectional. Subsequent writers revisited canonization documentation for their narratives, with Elisa Frei finding that to be true for Xavier.[99] Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, meanwhile, referenced his consultation of transcripts from the processes of both saints within a new life of Ignatius published in 1631.[100] Ignatius and Xavier, however, were the first of the Society's saints, even though their paths to reaching that status were unclear and uncertain.

---

[96] Mia M. Mochizuki, *Jesuit Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 6–9.

[97] Antonio Acero de la Cruz, *Inmaculada con Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier*, Bogotá, 1620–65, oil on canvas, private collection.

[98] *Les honneurs et applaudissements rendus par le College de la Compagnie de Jesus, Universite & Bourgeoisie du Pont-à-Mousson en Lorraine l'an 1623* (Pont-à-Mousson: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1623), 5, 7–8. A *pied de Roi* is 32.4839 centimeters: Amandine Péquignot, "The Rhinoceros (fl. 1770–1793) of King Louis XV and Its Horns," *Archives of Natural History* 40.2 (2013): 225 n. 15.

[99] Frei, "Through Daniello Bartoli's Eyes," 401–2.

[100] Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Vida del Patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañía de Jesus* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1631), s.n.

Bibliography

Unprinted Sources

Brussels

Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique

Département des cartes et plans, MS 7264.
Cabinet des estampes, S.I 5214; S.I 5217.

Bologna

Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna

Ms. 260 tt. I–II.
Ms. 425 t. II.

Paris

Bibliothèque nationale de France

Collection Doat 22; 24; 25.

Rome

Archivio Doria Pamphilj

codice 465.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Japonica Sinica 9-II.
Peruana 12, 13.
Philippinae 5.
Postulazione 23.

Tolentino

Archivio storico del comune di Tolentino

Liber malefizi.

Toulouse

Bibliothèque Municipale

MS 609.

Trier

Stadtbibliothek

MS 1143/445.

Valencia

Biblioteca Històrica, Universitat de València

MS 690.

Vannes

Archives départementales du Morbihan

MS 87 G 11.

Vatican City

Archivio Secreto Vaticano

MS Collectorie 434.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Vaticanus Latinus MS 4015, MS 4025; MS 4027; MS 10054.

Printed Sources

"Acta canonizationis sancti Dominici." In *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici, Fasc.* II. *Libellus de principiis Ordinis praedicatorum*, edited by Heribert Christian Scheeben, Angelus Walz, and Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, 91–194. Monumenta Ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica XVI. Rome: Institutum historicum Fratrum praedicatorum, 1935.

Acta et processus canonizacionis Beate Birgitte, edited by Isak Collijn. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser. 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band I. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1924–31.

Antoninus Florentinus. *Chronicon seu opus historiarum*. 3 vols. Nuremberg: Koberger, 1484.

Archivio Storico Comunale di San Severino Liber mallefitiorum, La Légitimité implicite, vol. 1, edited by Jean-Philippe Genet. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne et École française de Rome, 2015.

Benedict XIV/Prospero Lambertini, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione. La Beatificazione dei servi di Dio e la Canonizzazione dei Beati*, vol. I/1, edited by Vittorio Criscuolo. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010.

Boccali Giovanni, ed. *Santa Chiara di Assisi. I primi documenti ufficiali. Lettera di annunzio della sua morte, processo e bolla di canonizzazione.* Santa Maria degli Angeli: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2002.

Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum taurinensis editio, edited by Francisco Gaude. 25 vols. Turin: Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, 1857–72.

Campbell, Jeffery, ed. and trans. *The Ars Moriendi: An Examination, Translation, and Collation of the manuscripts of the Shorter Latin Version.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1995.

Carré de Montgeron, Louis-Basile. *La vérité des miracles opérés par l'intercession de m. de Paris [François de (1690–1727)], et autres appelants, demontrée contre M. l'archevêque de Sens.* [Paris]: 1737.

Chirino, Pedro. *Relación de las islas Filipinas.* Rome: Stefano Paulino, 1604.

Chronique de Richard Lescot. Religieux de Saint-Denis (1328–1344) suivie de la continuation de cette chronique (1344–1364), edited by Jean Lemoine. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1896.

Comper, Frances, ed. *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917.

Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis, edited by M. le comte Riant. In *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa foundation,* 155–76. Paris: Renouard, 1884.

Diplomatarium Danicum. Copenhagen: Det danske Sprong-og Litteraturselkab, 1938–.

Diplomatarium Norvegicum: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ytre forhold, sprong, slaegter, saeder, lovgivning og rettergang i middelalderen. Oslo: P. T. Malling, 1847.

Documenta Indica, edited by Josef Wicki. 18 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1948–88.

Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel Comtesse d'Ariano, Apt et Avignon, 14 mai–30 octobre 1363. Édition critique, edited by Jacques Cambell. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1978.

Fages, Henri. *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier.* 2 vols. Paris: Picard, and Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1901.

Fages, Henri. *Notes et documents de l'histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier.* Paris: Picard, and Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1905.

Finlands Medeltidsurkunder, edited by Reinhold Hausen. Helsingfors: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1910–.

Fluvià, Francisco Javier. *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola.* 2 vols. Barcelona: Pablo Nadal, 1753.

Fontanini, Giusto. *Codex constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione sanctorum.* Rome, 1729.

Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola, edited by Dionisio Fernández Zapico and Cándido de Dalmases. 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1943–65.

For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuits General Congregations, edited and translated by John W. Padberg, Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994.

Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. *Les miracles de saint Louis*, edited by Percival B. Fay. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931.

Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. *Vie de saint Louis*, edited by H.-F. Delaborde. Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899.

I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (Santa Francesca Romana) 1440–1453, edited by Placido Tommaso Lugano. Studi e Testi 120. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945.

Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena, edited by Letizia Pellegrini. Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 2009.

Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco, edited by Enrico Menestò. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1984.

Il Processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino, edited by Nicola Occhioni. Rome: Padri Agostiniani di Tolentino, École française de Rome, 1984.

Kantorowicz, Hermann, ed. *Albertus Gandinus und das Strafrecht der Scholastik*, II, *Die Theorie. Kristische ausgabe des Tractatus de maleficiis nebst textkritischer Einleitung*. Berlin: Wentworth Pr, 1926.

Les honneurs et applaudissements rendus par le College de la Compagnie de Jesus, Universite & Bourgeoisie du Pont-à-Mousson en Lorraine l'an 1623. Pont-à-Mousson: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1623.

Litterae annuae Societatis Iesu anni MDC. Antwerp: Heirs of Martijn Nuyts and Jan van Meurs, 1618.

Lucena, João de. *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier*. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeek, 1600.

Maffei, Giampietro. *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae*. Rome: Francesco Zannetti, 1585.

Malebranche, Nicolas. *De Inquisitione Veritatis*. Geneva: Fratres De Tournes, 1753.

Monte, Francesco Maria del. *Relatio facta … super vita, sanctitate, actis canonizationis et miraculis Beati Francisci Xavier e Societate Iesu*. Rome: Heirs of Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1622.

Monumenta Xaveriana. 2 vols. Madrid: Agustín Avrial and Gabriel López del Horno, 1899–1912.

Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio. *Vida del Patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañía de Jesus*. Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1631.

The Oldest Legend: Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary, edited by Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi. Budapest: CEU University Press, 2018.

Piana, Celestino. "I Processi di canonizzazione su la vita di S. Bernardino da Siena." *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 44 (1951): 87–160, 383–435.

Procès de la canonisation de Saint Vincent Ferrier pour faire suite à l'histoire du même saint, edited by Henri Fages. Paris: Picard, and Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1904.

Proceso de canonización del Maestro Vicente Ferrer O.P. *Edición castellano-latina*, edited by Esponera Cerdán. Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer – Studia Friburgensia, 2018.

Processus Apostolici Auctoritate Innocentii Papae IV *Annis 1251, 1253, et 1254 Constructi de Vita, Virtutibus et Miraculis B. Joannis Boni Mantuani.* Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scribtoribus celebrantur [AASS], vol. Oct. IX, edited by Société des Bollandistes, 768–885. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1863–87.

Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. *Episcopi Tolosani*, edited by Collegium S. Bonaventurae, Analecta Franciscana, Tomus VII. Florence: Collegium s. Bonaventurae, 1951.

"Processus canonizationis S. Thomae, Neapoli." In *Fontes Vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis* 4, edited by M. H. Laurent, 265–407. *Revue Thomiste* [1911].

Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis, edited by Isak Collijn. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser. 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 2. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1942–46.

Prospero Lambertini, *Thesaurus resolutionum Sacri congregationis concilii*, tt. I–III. Urbini: H. Mainardi, 1739.

"Relatio processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis." In *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, edited by A. de La Borderie et al., 301–435. Saint-Brieuc: Imprimerie L. Prud'homme, 1887.

Riant, M. le comte, ed. Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis. In *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa foundation*, edited by Ch. Jourdain, 155–76. Paris: Renouard, 1884.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Flos sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de los santos*. 2 vols. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599–1601.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Historia von dem Leben und Wandel Ignatij Loiolae*, translated by Theobald Stoz. Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1590.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola*, translated by Claude Pavur. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2014.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*. Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1586.

Ribadeneyra, Pedro de. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*. Naples: Giuseppe Cacchi, 1572.

S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century, edited by Margaret Toynbee. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929.

Sanctae Catharinae Senensis legenda minor, edited by Franceschini. In *Fontes vitae S. Catherinae Senensis historici*. Milan: Università di Siena, 1942.

Santa Chiara di Assisi. I primi documenti ufficiali. Lettera di annunzio della sua morte, processo e bolla di canonizzazione, edited by Giovanni Boccali. Santa Maria degli Angeli: Edizioni Porziuncola, 2002.

Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola Societatis Iesu. 2 vols. Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1904–18.

Spinoza, Baruch. *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts, 1670.

Svenskt diplomatarium från och med år 1401, II, edited by C. Silfverstolpe and K. H. Karlsson. Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 1875.

Torsellino, Orazio. *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier deuided into VI bookes*, translated by Thomas Fitzherbert. Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1632.

Torsellino, Orazio. *De vita Francisci Xaverii*. Antwerp: Joachim Torgnaesius, 1596.

Torsellino, Orazio. *De vita Francisci Xaverii*. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596.

Torsellino, Orazio. *De vita Francisci Xaverii*. Liège: Henricus Hovius, 1597.

Torsellino, Orazio. *Vida del P. Francisco Xauier de la Compañia de Jesus*, translated by Pedro de Guzmán. Valladolid: Juan Godínez de Millis, 1600.

Trombetti Budriesi, Anna Laura, ed. *Lo Statuto del Comune di Bologna dell'anno 1335*. 2 vols. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2008.

Urban VIII. *Bulla canonizationis Sancti Francisci Xaverii*. Madrid: Francisco de Ocampo, 1635.

Urban VIII. *Bulla, siue litterae decretales Canonizationis S. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*. Rome: Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1626.

Urban VIII. *Decreta servanda in canonizatione et beatificatione Sanctorum* [...]. Rome: Ex Typ. Rev. Camerae Apostolicae, 1642.

Viard, Jules, ed. *Les grandes chroniques de France*. 10 vols. Paris: Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1920–53, vol. IX (1937).

Vichon, Antoine. *Des Vœux, Critique générale du livre de M. de Montgeron* [...] *ou Nouvelles lettres sur le miracles*. Amsterdam: Henri Du Sauzet, 1740.

Vita sanctae Clarae de Cruce, ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini: ex Codice Montefalconensi saeculi XIV *desumpta*, edited by Semenza, P. Alfonsus. Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1944.

Vitae Sanctorum Danorum, edited by M. Cl. Gerts. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udfivelse af Kilder till Dansk Historie, 1908.

Wadding, Luke. *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*. 25 vols. Florence: Ad Claras Aquas Quaracchi, 1932.

William of Tocco. *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco*, edited by Claire le Brun-Gouanvic. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996.

Woolston, Thomas. *A discourse on the miracles of our Saviour: in view of the present controversy between infidels and apostates*. London: 1727.

Zacchia, Paolo. *De' mali hipochondriaci libri tre del signor Paolo Zacchia*. Venice: Paolo Baglioni, 1665.

Zacchia, Paolo. *Quaestiones medico-legales* [...]. Avignon: typographia Ioannis Piot, Sancti Officij typographi in foro Sancti Desiderij, 1655.

Literature

[Coens, Mauritius]. “Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis.” *Analecta Bollandiana* 52 (1934): 157–285.

Albareda, Anselm M. *Sant Ignasi a Montserrat*, edited by Josep M. Soler i Canals. New ed. Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1990.

Albaret, Laurent. “La collection Doat, une collection moderne, témoignage de l’histoire religieuse méridionale des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles.” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 49 (2014): 57–93.

Alden, Dauril. *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Alessandrini, Emidio. *“Creder tutto e … creder nulla”. Il Notae de miraculis: opera inedita del cardinal Prospero Lambertini* (*Benedetto XIV*) *sui fenomeni straordinari e magico-superstiziosi*, Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Theologia morali consequendam. Assisi: S. Mariae Angelorum, 1995.

Alessandrini, Emidio and Grimaldi, Valerio. *Il Notae de miraculis: opera inedita del cardinal Prospero Lambertini* (*Benedetto XIV*) *sui fenomeni straordinari e magico-superstiziosi*, Excerpta ex dissertatione ad Doctoratum in Theologia morali consequendam. Rome: Editrice di Storia e Letteratura, 2024.

Allmand, Christopher. *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300–c.1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Amargier, Paul. “Dauphine de Puimichel et son entourage au temps de sa vie Aptésienne (1345–1360).” In *Peuple des Saints. Croyances et dévotions en Provence et Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 111–23. Avignon: Institut de Recherches et d’Etudes du Bas Moyen Âge Avignonnais, 1986.

Amsler, Nadine. *Jesuits and Matriarchs: Domestic Worship in Early Modern China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018.

Andenna, Cristina. “Women at the Angevin Court between Naples and Provence: Sancia of Majorca, Delphine of Puimichel, and the ‘Struggle’ for a Female Franciscan Life.” In *Queens, Princesses, and Mendicants: Close Relations in a European Perspective*, edited by Nikolas Jaspert and Imke Just, 29–51. Zurich: LIT, 2019.

Andrić, Stanko. *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000.

Andueza Unanua, Pilar. “La Vera Effigies de San Francisco Javier,” in *San Francisco Javier en las artes. El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 96–119. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra y Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.

Ankarloo, Bengt. “Postface: Saints and Witches.” In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 365–70. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Antonsson, Haki A., and Ildar Garipzanov, eds. *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe* (*c. 1000–1200*). Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Archambeau, Nicole. *Souls under Siege: Stories of War, Plague, and Confession in Fourteenth-Century Provence*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Archambeau, Nicole. "Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 85.4 (2011): 531–59.

Archambeau, Nicole. "Miracle Mediators as Healing Practitioners: The Knowledge and Practice of Healing with Relics." *Social History of Medicine* 31.2 (2018): 209–30.

Archambeau, Nicole. "Remembering Countess Delphine's Books: Reading as a Means to Shape a Holy Woman's Sanctity." In *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, edited by Charlotte Newman Goldy and Amy Livingstone, 33–49. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Ariès, Philippe. *The Hour of Our Death*, translated by Helen Weaver. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.

Arnold, John H. *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010.

Arnold, John H. "Histories and Historiographies of Medieval Christianity." In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, edited by John H. Arnold, 23–41. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Arnold, John H. *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Arnold, John H., and Peter Biller, eds. *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200–1300*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Ashbrook Harvey, Susan. *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 42. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Bahna, Vladimír. "Memorates and Memory: A Re-evaluation of Lauri Honko's Theory." *Temenos* 51.1 (2015): 7–23.

Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson, 2013.

Barone, Giulia. "L'agiografia domenicana alla meta del XIII secolo." In *Aux Origines de La Liturgie Dominicaine*, edited by Leonard E. Boyle and Pierre-Marie Gy, 365–78. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Barrón García, Aurelio A., and Miguel Ángel Aramburu-Zabala Higuera. "Pinturas del taller y círculo de Rubens llegadas en Logroño en 1622." *Ars Bilduma* (2016): 33–40.

Bartlett, Robert. *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Bartlett, Robert. *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Bartolomei Romagnoli, Alessandra, ed. *Francesca Romana. La santa, il monastero e la città alla fine del Medioevo*. Florence: SISMEL, 2009.

Bartolomei Romagnoli, Alessandra, and Giorgio Picasso, eds. *La canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana: santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Florence: Edizione del Galluzzo per la fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2013.

Baschet, Jérome. *La civilisation féodale. De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique*. Paris: Aubier, 2004.

Bass, Ian. "Communities of Remembrance: Religious Orders and the Cult of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275–82)." *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 7.3 (2018): 237–72. DOI: 10.1484/J.JMMS.5.116571.

Bass, Ian. "St Thomas de Cantilupe's Welsh miracles." *Studia Celtica* 53.1 (2019): 83–102. DOI: 10.16922/SC.53.6.

Bates, Stephen. "Preparations for a Christian Death: The Later Middle Ages." In *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c. 1300–1700*, edited by Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle, 72–105. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Becker, Ernest. *The Denial of Death*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1973.

Bednarski, Steven. *A Poisoned Past: The Life and Times of Margarida de Portu, a Fourteenth-Century Accused Poisoner*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam, and Dominique Iogna-Prat, eds. *L'individu au Moyen Âge. Individuation et individualisation avant la modernité*. Paris: Aubier, 2005.

Berardi, M. R., and S. Boesch Gajano, eds. *Civiltà medioevale negli Abruzzi*, vol. 2: *Testimonianze*. L'Aquila: Colacchi, 1992.

Bergin, Patrick M. Taylor Jr. *The Offices for the Two Feasts of Saint Dominic*. Dissertation. The Ohio State University, 2019.

Bertrand, Paul. *Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (1250–1350)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015.

Bettoni, Antonella. "The Perception of 'Social Danger' among Ius Commune Jurists: A Reconstruction of the Concept of Malus in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Italian and German Juridical Doctrine." *Liverpool Law Review* 26.3 (2005): 45–73.

Bilinkoff, Jodi. "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra." *Renaissance Quarterly* 52.1 (1999): 180–96.

Biller, Peter, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon, eds. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273–1282*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death. Ritual and Representation*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, and Timea Szell, eds. *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Boddice, Rob, and Mark Smith. *Emotion, Sense, Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Booth, Philip, and Elizabeth Tingle, eds. *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c. 1300–1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Borghi, Beatrice. "La Basilica e il convento di San Domenico in Bologna. Custode di sepolture e di reliquie. Dal Libellus Funerum agli inventari dei sacri pegni." Università, teologia e studium domenicano dal 1360 alla fine del medioevo. Atti del convegno di studi (Bologna, 21–23 ottobre 2011), edited by Roberto Lambertini. *Memorie Domenicane* 45 (2014): 245–62.

Bouchard, Constance. *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Bouley, Bradford. "Negotiated Sanctity: Incorruption, Community, and Medical Expertise." *The Catholic Historical Review* 102 (2016): 1–25.

Bouley, Bradford A. *Pious Postmortems: Anatomy, Sanctity, and the Catholic Church in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

Bouley, Bradford A. "Roman Medicine, Papal Power, and the Making of Spanish Saints." *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 13.1 (2016): 131–48.

Bouquet, Damien, and Piroska Nagy. *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, translated by R. Shaw. Cambridge: Polity, 2018.

Boureau, Alain. "Saints et démons dans les procès de canonisation du début du XIV^{e} siècle." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 199–221. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Boureau, Alain. *Satan Hérétique. Histoire de la Démonologie. Naissance de la démonologie dans l'Occident médiévale (1280–1330)*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004.

Bourilly, V.-L. *Essai sur l'Histoire Politique de la Commune de Marseille. Des origines a la victoire de Charles d'Anjou (1264)*. Aix-en-Provence: Librairie d'Histoire de la Provence, 1925.

Bozoky, Edina. *L'imaginaire de la sainteté. De la fabrique des reliques à la fabrique des legends*. Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2021.

Brazinski, Paul, and Fryxell, Allegra. "The Smell of Relics: Authenticating Saintly Bones and the Role of Scent in the Sensory Experience of Medieval Christian Veneration." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 23 (1 September 2013), https://doi.org/10.5334/pia.430.

Brockey, Liam M. "The Cruelest Honor: The Relics of Francis Xavier in Early Modern Asia." *Catholic Historical Review* 101.1 (2015): 41–64.

Brown, Elizabeth A. R. "Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France." *French Historical Studies* 16.4 (1990): 803–32.

Brown, Elizabeth A. R. “Death and the Human Body in the Late Middle Ages.” *Viator* XII (1981): 221–270.

Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Bruschi, Caterina. *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Bruschi, Caterina, and Peter Biller. “Texts and the Repression of Heresy: Introduction.” In *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, edited by Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, 3–19. York: York Medieval Press, 2003.

Bueno, Irene. “Dixit Quod Non Recordatur: Memory as Proof in Inquisitorial Trials (Early 14th Century France).” In *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, edited by Lucie Doležalová, 365–93. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Burkardt, Albrecht. *Les clients des saints. Maladie et quête du miracle á travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du* XVII*e* *siècle en France*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 338. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Burke, Peter. “How To Be a Counter-Reformation Saint.” In *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz, 45–55. London: Allen und Unwin for the German Historical Institute, 1984.

Burnham, Louisa. *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Burr, David. *Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Butaud, Germain, Michel Hébert, Thierry Pécout, and Alain Venturini. “Les procédures de verification. Le registre AD13, B 1065.” In *L’Enquête Générale de Leopardo da Foligno en Provence. Réformation et Vérification (1332–1334)*, edited by Thierry Pécout, 481–89. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2015.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.

Cacho Casal, Marta P. *Francisco Pacheco y su* Libro de retratos. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011.

Caciola, Nancy. “Spirits Seeking Bodies: Death, Possession and Communal Memory in the Middle Ages.” In *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, 66–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Caciola, Nancy Mandeville. *Afterlives: The Return of the Dead in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016.

Cambell, Jacques. “La sommaire de l’enquête pour le canonisation de S. Elzear de Sabran, T.O.F. 1323.” *Miscellanea francescana* 73 (1973): 438–41.

Cañeque, Alejandro. *Un imperio de mártires. Religión y poder en las fronteras de la Monarquía Hispánica*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2020.

Canetti, Luigi. *Frammenti di eternità. Corpi e reliquie tra Antichità e Medioevo*. Rome: Viella, 2002.

Canetti, Luigi. *L'invenzione della memoria. Il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati predicatori*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1996.

Casale, Vittorio. *L'arte per le canonizzazioni. L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento*. Turin: Allemandi, 2011.

Cassard, Jean-Christophe. "Les coulisses de la sainteté? Charles de Blois vu par son entourage." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 116 (2009), http://abpo.revues.org/165.

Casteen, Elizabeth. "Princely Poverty: Louis of Durazzo, Dynastic Politics, and Heresy in Fourteenth-Century Naples." In *Late Medieval Heresy: New Perspectives: Studies in Honor of Robert E. Lerner*, edited by Michael Bailey and Sean Field, 116–36. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018.

Cerdán, Esponera Alfonso. "El proceso de canonización de Vicente Ferrer (m. 1419): 1451–1455." In *Fra trionfi e sconfitte. La "politica della santità" dell'Ordine dei predicatori*, edited by Viliam Stefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, 83–105. Dissertationes Historicae 39. Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021.

Chiffoleau, Jacques. *La comtabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort, et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2011 (1980).

Christensen, C. A. "Drabet på Erik 4. Plovpenning og den begyndende legende-dannelse." *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 7.R., 6 (1965–68): 21–43.

Clarke, Catherine A. M., ed. *The St. Thomas Way and the Medieval March of Wales: Exploring Place, Heritage, Pilgrimage. Places and Spaces, Medieval to Modern*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

Classen, Albrecht, ed. *Death in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: The Material and Spiritual Conditions of the Culture of Death*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

Clausen, Svend. "Hellighed og magtspil. Helgenkåringens vanskeligheder i Danmark efter 1234." *Historisk Tidskrift* 109 (2009): 306–18.

Climo, Jacob J., and Maria G. Cattell. "Introduction: Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives." In *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Jacob Climo and Maria Cattell, 1–36. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002.

Coackley, John. *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Cohen, Esther. *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Collijn, Isak. "Inledning." In *Processus seu Negocium Canonizacionis Katerine de Vadstenis*, edited by Isak Collijn. Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet ser. 2. Latinska Skrifter, Band 2. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri Ab, 1942–46.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cooper, Michael. *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Copeland, Clare. *Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi: The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Cornett, Michael E. *The Form of Confession: A Later Medieval Genre for Examining Conscience*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011.

Cortez, Fernand. *Les grands officiers royaux de Provence au Moyen Âge*. Aix-en-Provence: Secrétariat de la Société d'Etudes Provençales, 1921.

Coulet, Noël. *Aix en Provence. Espace et relations d'une capitale* (*milieu* XIV^{e} *s.–milieu* XV^{e} *s.*). Aix-en-Provence: Publications de Université de Provence, 1988.

Craig, Leigh Ann. "Pilgrimage as Feature of Miracles." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 164–85. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Craig, Leigh Ann. "Describing Death and Resurrection: Medicine and the Humors in Two Late Medieval Miracles." In *The Sacred and the Secular in Medieval Healing: Sites, Objects, and Texts*, edited by Barbara S. Bowers and Linda Migl Keyser, 103–15. London: Routledge, 2016.

Criscuolo, Vincenzo. "Introduzione." In Prospero Lambertini – Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione. La Beatificazione dei servi di Dio e la Canonizzazione dei Beati*, 1:9–71. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010.

Crislip, Andrew T. *Thorns in the Flesh: Illness and Sanctity in Late Ancient Christianity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth. "Testimonianze ed esperienza dello spazio. L'esempio di Venezia alla fine del medioevo." In *La parola all'accusato*, edited by Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1991.

Csepregi, Ildikó. "Miracle Types and Narratives: The Case of Saint Margaret of Hungary." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 327–53. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Cucini, Sara. *Législation statutaire et gouvernement pontifical en Italie centrale. Le cas de l'administration de la justice criminelle à Bologne, deuxième moitié du* XV^{e} *siècle*. PhD thesis. University Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3/University of Bologna, 2014.

Cullum, P. H. "Feasting Not Fasting: Men's Devotion to the Eucharist in the Later Middle Ages." In *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, edited by P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, 184–200. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.

Cullum, P. H., and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *Holiness and Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Cullum, P. H., and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.

Dalla Torre, Giuseppe. “Santità ed economia processuale. L’esperienza giuridica tra Urbano VIII e Benedetto XIV.” In *Finzione e santità, tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by Gabriella Zarri, 231–63. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991.

Debby, Nirit Ben-Aryeh. “St. Clare Expelling the Saracens from Assisi: Religious Confrontation in Word and Image.” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43.3 (2012): 643–65.

Delarun, Jacques. “La mort des saints fondateurs de Martin a François.” In *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e^–XIII^e^ siècle)*, 161–72. Collection de l’École française de Rome 149. Rome: École française de Rome, 1991.

Delooz, Pierre. *Sociologie et canonisations*, Collection scientifique de la Faculté de Droit de l’Úniversité de Liège Bd. 30. La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.

Delooz, Pierre. “Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church.” In *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, edited by Stephen Wilson, 189–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Delpiano, Patrizia. “La riorganizzazione della censura libraria.” In *Storia, medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini Benedetto XIV*, edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, 109–24. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2013.

De Renzi, Silvia, and Luca Tonetti. “Zacchia, Paolo.” In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 100. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 2020, available online at https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-zacchia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

Diels, Ann, and Marjolein Leesberg. *The Collaert Dynasty*. 8 vols. Amsterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2005–2006.

Dinzelbacher, Peter. *Heilige oder Hexen? Schicksale auffälliger Frauen*. Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2004.

Ditchfield, Simon. “Coping with the Beati Moderni: Canonisation Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent.” In *Ite infiammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, edited by Thomas McCoog, 413–39. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010.

Ditchfield, Simon. “How Not to be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622–45.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379–22.

Ditchfield, Simon. “Il mondo della Riforma e della Controriforma.” In *Storia della santità nel Cristianesimo occidentale*, edited by Anna Benvenuti et al., 261–329. Rome: Viella, 2011.

Ditchfield, Simon. “Sanctity in Early Modern Italy.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47.1 (1996): 98–112.

Ditchfield, Simon. “Thinking with Jesuit Saints: The Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Context.” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 327–37.

Ditchfield, Simon. "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World." *Critical Inquiry* 35.3 (2009): 552–88.

Dossat, Yves. "Le massacre d'Avignonet." *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 6 (1971): 343–59.

Doublier, Étienne. "Il miracolo nella documentazione pontifica duecentesca." In *Miracolo! Emozione, Spettacolo e Potere nella Storia dei Secoli XIII–XVII*, edited by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 31–55. Florence: SISMEL, 2019.

Dubourg, Ninon. "Clerical Leprosy and the Ecclesiastical Office: Dis/Ability and Canon Law." In *New Approaches to Disease, Disability, and Medicine in Medieval Europe*, edited by Erin Connelly and Stefanie Künzel, 62–77. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018.

Dubourg, Ninon. *Disabled Clerics in the Late Middle Ages: Un/suitable for Divine Service?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023.

Dubreil-Arcin, Agnès. *Vies de saints, légendes de soi. L'écriture hagiographique dominicaine jusqu'au Speculum Sanctorale de Bernard Gui († 1331)*, Hagiologia 7. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

DuBruck, Edelgard, and Barbara Gusick, eds. *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages.* New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

Duffin, Jacalyn. *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Dulong, Renaud. *Le témoin oculaire. Les conditions sociales de l'attestation personnelle.* Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1989.

Edwards, Jennifer C. *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Elliott, Dyan. *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women 200–1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Elliott, Dyan. *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Elliott, Dyan. *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Embach, Michael. "Eine neu entdeckte Handschrift der 'Vita Sancti Disbodi' Hildegards von Bingen (1098–1179). Die Trierer Handschrift 1143/445 8 °." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 139.4 (2010): 486–92.

Emich, Birgit. "The Development of Curial Institutions in the Post-Tridentine Era." In *A Companion to the History of the Roman Curia*, edited by Donald Prudlo. Leiden: Brill: 2024.

Emich, Birgit. "The Production of Truth in the Manufacture of Saints: Procedures, Credibility and Patronage in Early Modern Processes of Canonization." In *Making Truth in Early Modern Catholicism*, edited by Steven Vanden Broecke, Andreea Badea, Bruno Boute, and Marco Cavarzere, 165–89. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021.

Esch, Arnold. “Die Zeugenaussagen im Heiligsprechungsverfahren für S. Francesca Romana als Quelle zur Sozialgeschichte Rom im frühen Quattrocento.” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 53 (1973): 93–151.

Esch, Arnold. “Francesca Bussa, santa.” Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, XLIX (1997): www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santa-francesca-bussa_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

Esch, Arnold. “Gli interrogatori di testi come fonte storica. Senso del tempo e vita sociale esplorati dall’interno.” *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio Evo* 105 (2003): 249–65.

Esch, Arnold. “I processi medioevali per la canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana (1440–1451).” In *La canonizzazione di santa Francesca Romana. Santità, cultura e istituzioni a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli and Giorgio Picasso, 39–52. Florence: Edizione del Galluzzo per la fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2013.

Esponera Cerdán, Alfonso, OP. “El proceso de canonización de Vicente Ferrer († 1419): 1451–1455.” In *Fra trionfi e sconfitte. “Politica della santità” dell Ordine dei Predicatori*, edited by Viliam Štefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, 83–105. Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum Romae, Dissertationes Historicae 39. Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021.

Esposito, Anna. “St. Francesca and the Female Religious Communities of Fifteenth-Century Rome.” In *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, edited by Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi, trans. Margery J. Schneider, 197–218. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Eyler, Joshua R., ed. *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010.

Fages, Henri. *Histoire de Saint Vincent Ferrier*. 2 vols. Paris: Picard, and Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1901.

Fallberg Sundmark, Stina. *Sjukbesök och dödsberedelse. Sockenbudet i svensk medeltida och reformatorisk tradition*. Skellefteå: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2008.

Farmer, Sharon. “The Beggar’s Body: Intersections of Gender and Social Status in High Medieval Paris.” In *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society; Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, edited by Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein, 153–71. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Farmer, Sharon. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology and the Daily Lives of the Poor*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Farmer, Sharon. *Benedetto XIV e Trento. Tradurre il concilio nel Settecento*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2015.

Farmer, Sharon. *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio 1592–1605. Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2004.

Farmer, Sharon. "The Juridical-Bureaucratic Roman Saint-Making Machine: The Apostolic Process in Benedict XIV's De Servorum Dei." In *Making Saints in a Glocal Religion*, edited by Birgit Emich, Daniel Sidler, Samuel Weber, and Christian Windler, 77–107. Vienna: Böhlau V, 2024.

Farmer, Sharon, ed. *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV. Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini (1675–1758)*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2011.

Farmer, Sharon. "Per una storia della curia romana dalla riforma sistina, secoli XVI–XVIII." *Cristianesimo nella storia* 35.3 (2014): 787–847.

Fenster, Thelma, and Daniel Lord Smail, eds. *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Fentress, James, and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Fernández Gracia, Ricardo. *Estampa Contrarreforma y Carmelto Teresiano. La colección de grabados de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Pamplona y Leonor de la Misericordia*. Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Navarra, 2004.

Finucane, Ronald C. *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011.

Finucane, Ronald C. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995 (1977).

Finucane, Ronald C. "Pilgrimages in Daily Life: Aspects of Medieval Communication Reflected in the Newly Established Cult of Thomas Cantilupe (d. 1282), Its Dissemination and Effects upon Outlying Hereford Villagers." In *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh, 165–217. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992.

Finucane, Ronald C. *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Finucane, Ronald C. "Saint-Making at the End of the Sixteenth Century: How and Why Jacek of Poland († 1257) became St. Hyacinth in 1594." *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 207–58.

Fleming, Andrew. *The Cult of St Thomas Cantilupe and the Politics of Remembrance*. St. Edmund Hall: Unprinted D.Phil., History, 2013.

Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, Luis Javier. "Los procesos para la canonización de San Francisco Javier." *Anuario de historia de la iglesia* 29 (2020): 220–27.

Fossier, Arnaud, Johann Petitjean, and Clémence Revest, eds. *Écritures grises. Les instruments de travail des administrations (XII^e–XVII^e siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome-École nationale des chartes, 2019.

Foster, Jonathan K. *Memory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Franco Llopis, Borja. "Màscara mortuòria de Sant Francesc de Borja." In *Sant Francesc de Borja Gran D'Espanya. Art i espiritualitat en la cultura hispànica dels segles XVI i*

XVII, edited by Ximo Company and Joan Aliaga, 294–96. Gandia: Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quiros, 2011.

Frei, Elisa. "Through Daniello Bartoli's Eyes: Francis Xavier in Asia (1653)." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 398–414.

Friedrich, Markus. *The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge*, translated by John Noël Dillon. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018.

Fröjmark, Anders. *Mirakler och helgonkult. Linköpings biskopsdöme under senmedeltiden*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1992.

Fros, Henryk, ed. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, Novum supplementum*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986.

Frutaz, Pietro Amato. "Le principali edizioni e sinossi del De Servorum Dei beatificazione et Beatorum canonizatione di Benedetto XIV." In *Benedetto* XIV (*Prospero Lambertini*) *Convegno Internazionale di Studi Storici sotto il patrocinio dell'Arcidiocesi di Bologna, Cento 6–9 dicembre 1979*, 1:27–90. Cento: Centro studi Girolamo Baruffaldi, 1981.

Fuchs, Ralf Peter, and Winfried Schulze. *Wahrheit, Wissen, Erinnerung. Zeugenverhörprotokolle als Quellen für soziale Wissensbestände der Frühen Neuzeit*. Münster: Lit Verlag, 2002.

Gallén, Jarl. "Les causes de Sainte Ingrid et des Saints Suédois au temps de la Réforme." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 7 (1937): 5–40.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. "The Captivity of Louis IX." *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 18 (2013): 85–114.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. "Louis IX and Liturgical Memory." In *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, edited by Elma Brenner, Mary Franklin-Brown, and Meredith Cohen, 261–76. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.

Gaposchkin, M. Cecilia. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

García Gutiérrez, Fernando. *San Francisco Javier en el arte de España y Oriente*. Seville: Guadalquivir ediciones, 2005.

Garnot, Benoît. "Les témoins sont-ils fiables?" In *Les témoins devant la justice. Une histoire des statuts et des comportements*, edited by Benoît Garnot, 429–35. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003.

Gauvard, Claude, ed. "La Renommée." *Médiévales* 24 (1993).

Gejrot, Claes. "The Emerging Birgittine Movement and the First Steps towards the Canonization of Saint Birgitta of Sweden." In *Medieval Christianity in the North: New Studies*, edited by Kirsi Salonen, Kurt Villads Jensen, and Torstein Jørgensen, 155–180. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Giannini, Massimo Carlo, and Silvano Giordano. "Governare per congregazioni. La Curia papale tra pratiche istituzionali e logiche informali (XVI–XVII secolo). Una proposta di lavoro." *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 53 (2019): 209–20.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, translated by John and Anne Tedeschi. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, translated by Raymond Rosenthal. New York: Pantheon Books, 1991.

Giorgi, Andrea, Stefano Moscadelli, and Carla Zarrilli, eds. *La documentazione degli organi giudiziari nell'Italia tardo-medievale e moderna*, atti del convegno di studi (Siena, 15–17 September 2008). Rome: Ministero per I beni e le attività culturali, 2012.

Giovannucci, Pierluigi. *Canonizzazioni e infallibilità pontificia in età moderna*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008.

Giovannucci, Pierluigi. "Dimostrare la santità per via giudiziaria." In *Storia, medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini Benedetto XIV*, edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, 277–96. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2013.

Giuliani, Alessandro. "Prova." In *Enciclopedia del diritto*, 37:537–41. Milan: Giuffrè, 1987.

Given, James B. *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Goldy, Charlotte Newman, and Amy Livingstone, eds. *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Golinelli, Paolo. "Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials: The Choice of Witnesses." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 165–80. Collection de l'École française de Rome 340. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Golinelli, Paolo. "Velut alter Alexius: The Saint Alexis Model in Medieval Hagiography." In *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Kirsi Salonen, 141–52. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.

Goodich, Michael. "The Death of a Saint: A Hagiographical Topos." In *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and Middle Ages*, edited by Katariina Mustakallio et al., 227–38. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 33. Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2005.

Goodich, Michael. "Filiation and Form in the Late Medieval Miracle Story." In *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.

Goodich, Michael. "Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis: Social History and Medieval Miracles." In *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of Church, Studies in Church History*, edited by Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, 135–56. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005.

Goodich, Michael. *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Goodich, Michael. “The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century: Lay and Mendicant Saints.” *Church History* 44.3 (1975): 294–307.

Goodich, Michael. “Theory and Public Policy: Canonization Records.” In *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*, 69–86. Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Goodich, Michael. *Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Salvation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Goodich, Michael, ed. *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Gotor, Miguel. *Chiesa e santità nell’Italia moderna*. Rome: Laterza, 2004.

Gotor, Miguel. *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*. Florence: Olschki, 2002.

Green, Monica H., and Daniel Lord Smaiil. “The Trial of Floreta d’Ays (1403): Jews, Christians, and Obstetrics in Later Medieval Marseille.” *Journal of Medieval History* 34.2 (2008): 185–211.

Greenwood, Jonathan E. “Los milagros americanos de Ignacio de Loyola y la red de información transatlántica de los jesuitas.” *Hispania sacra* 72.146 (2020): 491–99.

Greenwood, Jonathan E. “Miracles in Writing: Obstetric Intercessions, Scribal Relics, and Jesuit News in the Early Modern Global Cult of Ignatius of Loyola.” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 338–56.

Greenwood, Jonathan E. “Tracing the Cult of Ignatius Loyola through Print.” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 88.175 (2019): 135–81.

Grieco, Holly. “The Boy Bishop and the ‘Uncanonized Saint’: St. Louis of Anjou and Peter of John Olivi as Models of Franciscan Spirituality in the Fourteenth Century.” *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 247–82.

Grieco, Holly. *A Dilemma of Obedience and Authority: The Franciscan Inquisition and Franciscan Inquisitors in Provence, 1235–1340*. PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2004.

Guillausseau, Axelle. “Los relatos de milagros de Ignacio de Loyolaun ejemplo de la renovación de las prácticas hagiográficas a finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII.” *Criticón* 99 (2007): 5–56.

Gupta, Pamila. *The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Gurevich, Aron. *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *La Mémoire collective*. 2nd ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997 (1990).

Hamilton Clements, Jill. “Sudden Death in Early Medieval England and the Anglo-Saxon Fortunes of Men.” In *Dealing With the Dead: Mortality and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Thea Tomaini, 36–67. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Hanawalt, Barbara. *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Hanska, Jussi. "The Hanging of William Cragh: Anatomy of a Miracle." *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001): 121–38.

Hanska, Jussi. *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages*, Studia Fennica Historica 2. Helsinki: The Finnish Literature Society, 2002.

Harpster, Grace. "Figino's Efficacy: Portraits, Votives, and their Makers after Trent." *Oxford Art Journal* 44.2 (2021): 226–45.

Harris Takao, Makoto. "Francis Xavier at the Court of Ōtomo Yoshishige: Representations of Religious Disputation between Jesuits and Buddhists in La conversione alla santa fede del re di Bungo giaponese (1703)." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3.3 (2016): 451–74.

Heinonen, Meri. "Henry Suso and the Divine Knighthood." In *Holiness and Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, edited by P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, 79–92. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Henriet, Patrick. "Sainteté." In *Dictionnaire du Moyen Age*, edited by Claude Gauvard, Alain de Libera, and Michel Zink, 1272–75. Paris: Presses universtaires de France, 2002.

Hernández Rodríguez, María Victoria. "El proceso de Ius Condendum para normativizar las causas de beatificación y canonización de la Const. Immensa Aeterni Dei (Sixto V, 1588) al breve Caelestis Hierusalem Cives (Urbano VIII, 1634)." In *A la luz de Roma: Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano*, 3 vols., edited by Fernando Quiles García et al., 43–66. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020.

Herrmann-Mascard, Nicole. *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumiere d'un droit.* Paris: Klinsieck, 1975.

Héry, Laurent. "Le culte de Charles de Blois. Résistances et réticenses." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 103 (1996): 39–56, http://abpo.revues.org/165.

Hess, Cordelia. *Heilige machen im spätmittelalterlichen Ostseeraum. Die Kanonisationsprozesse von Birgitta von Schweden, Nikolaus von Linköping und Dorothea von Montau.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008.

Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Hsy, Jonathan, Tory V. Pearman, and Joshua R. Eyler, eds., *A Cultural History of Disability in the Middle Ages*, A Cultural History of Disability 2. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.

Hughes-Edwards, Mari. *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, translated by Frederik Hopman. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965.

Israëls, Machtelt. “Absence and Resemblance: Early Images of Bernardino da Siena and the Issue of Portraiture (with a New Proposal for Sassetta).” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007): 77–114.

Jackson, Peter. *The Seventh Crusade 1244–1254: Sources and Documents*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

Jakobs, Fredrika H. “Not Quite Dead: Imagining the Miracle of Infant Resuscitation.” In *Picturing Death 1200–1600*, edited by Stephen Perkinson and Noa Turel. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Jansen, Katherine. *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Jay, Martin. *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Jiménez Pablo, Esther. “La canonización de Ignacio de Loyola (1622). Lucha de intereses entre Roma, Madrid y París.” *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016): 79–102.

Kane, Bronach C. *Popular Memory and Gender in Medieval England: Men, Women, and Testimony in the Church Courts, c.1200–1600*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity’s Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.” In *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, 21–45. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Diabolical Rage? Children, Violence, and Demonic Possession in the Late Middle Ages.” *Journal of Family History* 41.3 (2016), DOI: 10.1177/0363199016644593.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Fatherhood, Masculinity and Lived Religion in Late Medieval Sweden.” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38.2 (2013): 223–44.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “From Lived Reality to a Cultural Script: Punishment Miracles as an Experience.” In *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, 37–61. Cham: Palgrave, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92140-8_2.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “A Good Wife? Demonic Possession and Discourses of Gender in Late Medieval Culture.” In *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Learning by Doing: Pilgrimages as a Means of Socialisation in the Late Middle Ages.” In *Agents and Objects: Children in Pre-Modern Europe*, edited by Katariina Mustakallio and Jussi Hanska, 133–46. Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 42. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2015.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Madness, Demonic Possession, and Methods of Categorization.” In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 206–25. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Narrative Strategies in the Depositions: Gender, Family, and Devotion.” In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 227–56. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Recent Trends in the Study of Medieval Canonizations.” *History Compass* 8 (2010): 1083–92. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2010.00730.x.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari. “Rituals and Reputation: Immature Death in the Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes.” In *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Katariina Mustakallio, 315–39. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, and Christian Krötzl. “Approaching Twelfth- to Fifteenth-Century Miracles: Miracle Registers, Collections, and Canonization Processes as Source Material.” In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 1–39. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, and Jenni Kuuliala. “Practical Matters: Canonization Processes in the Making.” In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 78–101. Reading Medieval Sources 5. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, eds. *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, and Raisa Maria Toivo. *Lived Religion and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 2021.

Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, and Raisa Toivo. “Introduction: Religion as Historical Experience.” In *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, 1–35. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92140-8_1.

Kaufhold, Martin. “Norwegen, das Papsttum und Europa im 13. Jahrhundert.” *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997): 316–17.

Kelly, Henry Ansgar. “The Fourth Lateran Ordo of Inquisition Adapted to the Prosecution of Heresy.” In *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, edited by Donald S. Prudlo, 75–107. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Kelly, Samantha. “King Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and the Spiritual Franciscans.” *Cristianesimo nella storia* 20 (1999): 41–80.

Kemp, Eric Waldram. *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948.

Kemp, Simon. “A Medieval Controversy about Odor.” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 33.3 (1997): 211–19.

Klaniczay, Gábor. “The Inquisition of Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes.” In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 43–74. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Klaniczay, Gábor, ed. *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*. Collection de l’Ecole Française de Rome 340. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Klaniczay, Gábor. “‘Popular Culture’ in Medieval Hagiography and in Recent Historiography.” In *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*, edited by Paolo Golinelli, 17–44. Bologna: Clueb, 2012.

Klaniczay, Gábor. “Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Processes.” In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 117–48. École française de Rome: Rome, 2004.

Klaniczay, Gábor. “Ritual and Narrative in Late Medieval Miracle Accounts: The Construction of the Miracle.” In *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies: Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, 207–23. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013.

Klaniczay, Gábor. “Speaking about Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials.” In *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, edited by Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert, 365–95. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Kleinberg, Aviad M. “Canonization without a canon.” In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 7–18. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Kleinberg, Aviad M. *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Klockars, Birgitta. *Biskop Hemming av Åbo*. Helsinfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1960.

König-Nordhoff, Ursula. *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuer Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600*. Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1982.

Koopmans, Rachel. *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Korpiola, Mia, and Anu Lahtinen, eds. *Cultures of Death and Dying in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2015.

Krafft, Ottfried. “Many Strategies and One Goal: The Difficult Road to the Canonization of Catherine of Siena.” In *Catherine of Siena. The Creation of a Cult*, edited by

Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Gabriela Signori, 25–46. Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts 13. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

Krafft, Ottfried. *Pasturkunde und Heiligsprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation. Ein Handbuch.* Archiv für Diplomatik 9. Cologne: Böhlau, 2005.

Krass, Urte. "A Case of Corporate Identity: The Multiplied Face of Saint Antonino of Florence." *Representations* 131.1 (2015): 1–21.

Krass, Urte. "Naked Bones, Empty Caskets, and a Faceless Bust: Christian Relics and Reliquaries between Europe and Asia during Early Modern Globalisation." In *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, edited by Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki, 369–405. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Krötzl, Christian. "Das Mare Balticum aus europäischer Perspektive. Kommunikationsräume und Interaktion." In *Das Baltikum. Geschichte einer europäischen Region. Band 1: Von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, edited by Karsten Brüggemann, 543–75. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2018.

Krötzl, Christian. "Evidentissima signa mortis. Zu Tod und Todesfestellung in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten." In *Symbole des Allatgs Alltag des Symbole. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Gertrud Blaschitz, 765–75. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992.

Krötzl, Christian. "Fama sanctitatis. Die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 223–43. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Krötzl, Christian. "Kanonisationsprozess, Socialgeschichte und Kanonisches Recht im Spätmittelalter." In *Nordic Perspectives on Medieval Canon Law*, edited by Mia Korpiola, 19–39. Publications of the Matthias Calonius Society 2. Helsinki: Matthias Calonius Society, 1999.

Krötzl, Christian. "Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance." In *Miracle et Karāma*, edited by Denise Aigle, 557–76. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses 109; Hagiographies médiévales comparées 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Krötzl, Christian. "Miracula Post Mortem: On Function, Content, and Typological Changes." In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 157–75. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Krötzl, Christian. "Papsttum, Mission und der Norden. Das Zusammenspiel von Zentrum und Peripherie." In *Livonia – A Region at the End of the World*, edited by Anti Selart and Matthias Thumser. Cologne: Böhlau, 2017.

Krötzl, Christian. "Parent-Child Relations in Medieval Scandinavia According to Scandinavian Miracle Collections." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14 (1989): 21–37.

Krötzl, Christian. *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im Skandinavischen Mittelalter* (*12.–15. Jahrhundert*). Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1994.

Krötzl, Christian. “Prokuratoren, Notare und Dolmetscher. Zu Gestaltung und Ablauf der Zeugeneinvernahmen bei spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozessen.” *Hagiographica* V (1998): 119–40.

Krötzl, Christian. “Vulgariter sibi exposito. Zu Uebersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spaetmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationsprozessen.” *Das Mittelalter* 2 (1997): 111–18.

Krötzl, Christian, and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, eds. *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Krötzl, Christian, and Katariina Mustakallio, eds. *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

Kuehn, Thomas. “Fama as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence.” In *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, edited by Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, 27–46. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Kuttner, Stephan. “La réserve papale du droit de canonisation.” *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 4.17 (1938): 172–228.

Kuuliala, Jenni. “Disability and Religious Practices in Late Medieval Prussia: Infirmity and the Miraculous in the Canonization Process of St Dorothea of Montau (1404–1406).” In *Lived Religion in the Baltic Sea Region during the Long Reformation*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Toivo, 46–74. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Kuuliala, Jenni. *Childhood Disability and Social Integration: Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2016.

Kuuliala, Jenni. “Heavenly Healing of Failure of Faith? Partial Cures in Later Medieval Canonization Processes.” In *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, edited by Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 170–98. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016.

Kuuliala, Jenni. “Physical Disability and Bodily Difference.” In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 186–205. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Kuuliala, Jenni. “Proving Misfortune, Proving Sainthood: Reconstructing Physical Impairment in Fourteenth-Century Miracle Testimonies.” In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 197–226. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Kuuliala, Jenni. “The Saint as Medicator: Medicine and the Miraculous in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italy.” *Social History of Medicine* 34.3 (2020): 703–22. https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkaa053.

Kuuliala, Jenni. *Saints, Infirmity, and Community in the Late Middle Ages*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

Lambert, Malcolm. *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.

Lauwers, Michel. "La mort et le corps des saints. La scene de la mort dans les Vitae du haut Moyen Âge." *Le Moyen Âge* 94 (1988): 21–50.

Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.

Lehmijoki-Gardner, Maiju. *Worldly Saints: Social Interaction of Dominican Penitent Women in Italy, 1200–1500*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1999.

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, translated by Barbara Bray. New York: G. Braziller, 1978.

Lesage, Georges. *Marseille Angevine. Recherches sur son evolution administrative, économique, et urbaine de la victoire de Charles d'Anjou a l'arrivée de Jeanne Ire* (*1264–1348*). Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950.

Lett, Didier. "Construire et légitimer l'autorité paternelle et communale dans un procès à San Severino (Marche) au milieu du XVe siècle." In *La Légitimité implicite*, edited by Jean-Philippe Genet, 1:497–512. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne et École française de Rome, 2015.

Lett, Didier. "De la dissemblace à la ressemblance. Construction sociale et métamorphoses des récits de miracles dans le procès de canonisation et l'abbrevatio maior de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325–1328)." In *Miracles, vies et réécriture dans l'Occident médiéval,* edited by Monique Goullet and Michel Heinzelmann, 121–47. Beihefte der Francia 65. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2006.

Lett, Didier. "Des miracles incroyables. Doutes ou intérêt social et politique dans les procès de canonisation des XIIIe–XIVe siècles." In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 177–93. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Lett, Didier. "Dire la mort de l'enfant qui va ressusciter dans quelques récits de miracles des XIIe–XIIIe siècles." In *L'enfant et la mort*, edited by Pierre Ellinger, 137–55. Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 1997.

Lett, Didier. "Ecrire, lire et représenter la violence dans les registres judiciaires des communes italiennes au début du XVe siècle." *Figures de l'autorité médiévale. Mélanges offerts à Michel Zimmermann*, edited by Pierre Chastang, Patrick Henriet, and Claire Soussen, 103–120. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016.

Lett, Didier, ed. *I registri della giustizia penale nell'Italia dei secoli* XII–XV. Collection de l'École française de Rome, 580. Rome: École française de Rome, 2020.

Lett, Didier. "La langue du témoin sous la plume du notaire. Témoignages oraux et rédaction de procès de canonisation au début du XIVe siècle." In *L'autorité de l'écrit au Moyen Âge* (*Orient – Occident*). *XXXIXe congrès de la SHMESP* (*Le Caire,* *30 avril–5 mai 2008*), 89–106. Publications de la Sorbonne, Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 102. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2009. http://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/10778.

Lett, Didier. "La parole des humbles comme ressource. L'utilisation de la procédure inquisitoire par les postulateurs de la cause dans la procès de canonisation de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325)." In *Agiografia e culture popolari. Hagiography and Popular Cultures*, edited by Paolo Golinelli, 233–40. Bologna: CLUEB, 2012.

Lett, Didier. *L'Enfant des miracles. Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XII^e–XIII^e siècle)*. Paris: Aubier, 1997.

Lett, Didier. "Les noms des hommes, des filles et des épouses dans les Marches d'après le procès de canonisation de Nicolas de Tolentino (1325)." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 119.2 (2007): 401–13.

Lett, Didier. *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Essai d'histoire sociale. Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008.

Lett, Didier. *Viols d'enfants au Moyen Âge. Genre et pédocriminalité à Bologne, XIV^e–XV^e siècle*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2021.

Leuschner, Eckhard. "The Papal Printing Privilege." *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 359–70.

Levy, Evonne. *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Levy, Ian Christopher, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, eds. *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Lewis, Katherine J. "Gender and Sanctity in the Middle Ages." In *Gendering the Middle Ages*, edited by Pauline Stafford and Anneke Mulder-Bakker, 205–14. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Loftus, Elisabeth F. *Eyewitness Testimony*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Madero, Marta. "Savoirs féminins et construction de la vérité. Les femmes dans la preuve testimoniale en Castille au 13e siècle." *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 3.2 (1999): 5–21.

Maggioni, Giovanni Paolo. "Miracoli spettacolari nella predicazione domenicana del XIII secolo," in *Miracolo! Emozione, spettacolo e potere nella storia dei cecoli* XIII–XVII, edited by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence: SISMEL, 2019), 75–98.

Manselli, Raoul. *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza*. Rome: Nella sede dell'Istituo, 1959.

Mariani, Paolo. "Racconto spontaneo o memoria construita? Testi a confronto in alcuni processi di canonizzazione del secolo decimoquarto." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen-Âge* 108 (1996): 259–319.

Martínez de Bujanda, Jesús, ed. *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*. Montréal: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 2002.

Mattei, Mario. *Il processo di canonizzazione di fra Giovanni Bono (1251–1253/54) fondatore dell'Ordine degli eremiti*. Rome: Institutum historicum Augustinianum, 2002.

Maurer, Konrad. "Norwegens Schenkung an den heiligen Olaf." *Philosophisch-philologische Abhandlungen der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14.2, Munich, 1877.

Mausen, Yves. *Veritatis adiutor. La procédure du témoignage dans le droit savant et la pratique française au bas Moyen Âge*. Vol. 1. Paris II: typed law thesis, December 2002.

Mazel, Florian. *La noblesse et l'Église en Provence, FIN Xᵉ–début XIVᵉ siècle. L'exemple des familles d'Agoult-Simiane, de Baux, et de Marseille*. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2002.

McGuire, Meredith B. *Contested Meanings and Definitional Boundaries: Historicizing the Sociology of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

McNamer, Sarah. *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*. Berlin: De Gryuter, 2010.

Melion, Walter S. "'In sensus cadentem imaginem': Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle's Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola of 1610." In *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler, 63–107. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Menestò, Enrico. "The Apostolic Canonization Proceedings of Clare of Montefalco, 1318–1319." In *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, edited by Daniel Ethan Bronstein and Roberto Rusconi, 104–29. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Messbarger, Rebecca, Christopher Johns, and Philip Gavitt, eds. *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science and Spirituality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Metzler, Irina. *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c.1100–1400*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture. London: Routledge, 2006.

Metzler, Irina. *A Social History of Disability: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. London: Routledge, 2013.

Miller, Rachel. "From 'Apostle of Japan' to 'Apostle of All the Christian World': The Iconography of St. Francis Xavier and the Global Catholic Church." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9.3 (2022): 415–37.

Minnis, Alastair J., and Rosalynn Voaden, eds. *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition c.1100–c.1500*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Mochizuki, Mia M. *Jesuit Art*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Modica, Marilena. "Il miracolo come oggetto di indagine storica." In *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, edited by Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica, 17–28. Rome: Viella, 2005.

Mooney, Catherine M., ed. *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Moore, R. I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250.* 2nd ed. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Morales Solchaga, Eduardo. "Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en la portada del libro barroco." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes. El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 254–83. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra y Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.

Motta, Franco, and Eleonora Rai. "Strategie di santità. La politica delle canonizzazioni dei gesuiti fra antica e nuova Compagnia (XVII–XX secolo)." In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano*, 3 vols., edited by Fernando Quiles García et al., 1:91–106. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020.

Mucciarelli, Roberta. "Bisogna essere molto prudenti con le voci perchè fanno presto a trasformarsi in verità. Qualche considerazione su fama e publica vox nell'Italia comunale." In *Fama e publica vox nel Medioevo*, edited by Isa Lori Sanfilippo and Antonio Rigon, 23–46. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2011.

Musto, Ronald. "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286–1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans." In *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, edited by Julius Kirshner and Suzanne Wemple, 179–214. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

Myrdal, Janken, and Göran Bäärnhielm. *Kvinnor, barn & fester i medeltida mirakelberättelser.* Skara: Skaraborgs Länsmuseum, 1994.

Newman, Martha G. "Crucified by the Virtues: Monks, Lay Brothers, and Women in Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Saints' Lives." In *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, edited by Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack, 182–209. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Niedermeier, Nina. "'The Artist's Memory': How to Make the Image of the Dead Saint Similar to the Living: The Vera Effigies of Ignatius of Loyola." *Horti Hesperidum: Studi di storia del collezionismo e della storiografia artistica* 5.2:1 (2015): 157–99.

Nissi, Jyrki. *The Communality of Death and Dying in 15th Century Europe: Evidence of Miracle Narratives and ars moriendi Guidebooks.* PhD dissertation. Tampere: Tampere University, 2021.

Nissi, Jyrki. "Death in a Birth Chamber. Birth Attendants as Expert Witnesses in the Canonization Process of Bernardino of Siena." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 226–48. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Nissi, Jyrki. "Quomodo Scit Quod Mortuus Erat? Signs of Death in 15th-Century Italy." SVMMA 7 (2016): 72–100.

Nissi, Jyrki. "Who Will Accompany the Dying? The Communality of Late Medieval Death in the Ars moriendi – Guides." In *Memento mori. Il genere macabro in Europa* *dal Medioevo a oggi*, edited by Marco Piccat and Laura Ramello, 515–30. Alessandria: Edizione dell' Orso, 2014.

Nold, Patrick. "Servants of Two Masters: Some Biographical Notes on Mendicants at the Court(s) of Robert of Anjou and John XXII in Avignon 1319–1324." *Micrologus* 31 (2023): 81–106.

Noyes, Ruth S. "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati Moderni in Rome ca. 1600." *Renaissance Quarterly* 64.3 (2011): 800–46.

Noyes, Ruth S. *Peter Paul Rubens and the Counter-Reformation Crisis of the Beati Moderni*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Nyberg, Tore. "The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 67–85. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Ocker, Christopher. "The Motion of Another's Death: Grief and Mourning." In *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c.1300–1700*, edited by Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle, 368–92. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

O'Connor, Mary. *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars moriendi*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

O'Malley, John W. *Saints and Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

O'Neil, Mary. "Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Modena." *In Witchcraft, Healing, and Popular Diseases. New Perspectives on Witchcraft, Magic, and Demonology*, edited by Brian B. Levack, 172–99. London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

Omata Rappo, Hitomi. *Des Indes lointaines aux scènes des collèges. Les reflets des martyrs de la mission japonaise en Europe (XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)*. Münster: Aschendorff, 2020.

Osheim, Duane. "Conversion, Conversi, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany." *Speculum* 58 (1983): 368–90.

Osswald, Maria Cristina. "Culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Portugal en los siglos XVI y XVII." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta, and Arnulfo Herrera, 151–76. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007.

Osswald, Maria Cristina. "Cultos e iconografías jesuíticas en Goa durante los siglos XVI y XVII. El culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes. El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 235–53. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra y Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.

Osswald, Maria Cristina. "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552–1640." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 71.142 (2002): 254–78.

Paciocco, Roberto. "The Canonization of Saints in the Middle Ages: Procedure, Documentation, Meanings." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 54–77. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Paciocco, Roberto. *Canonizzazioni e culto dei santi nella* christianitas (*1198–1302*). Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2019 [2006].

Paciocco, Roberto. "Processi e canonizzazioni nel duecento. Documenti e riflessioni a proposito di Filippo di Bourges." *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 40 (2002): 85–174.

Paciocco, Roberto. *Sublimia negotia. Le canonizzazioni dei santi nella curia papale e il nuovo Ordine dei frati Minori.* Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1996.

Palmer, Richard. "In Bad Odour: Smell and Its Significance in Medicine from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century." In *Medicine and the Five Senses*, edited by W. F. Bynum and Ray Porter. First paperback edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Papa, Giovanni. *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo period della Congregazione dei riti* (*1538–1634*). Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2001.

Papa, Giovanni. *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti* (*1588–1634*). Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 1988.

Parigi, Paolo. *The Rationalization of Miracles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Park, Katharine. "Birth and Dead." In *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Medieval Age*, edited by Linda Kalof, 17–36. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.

Park, Katharine. "Relics of a Fertile Heart: The 'Autopsy' of Clare of Montefalco." In *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, edited by Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación, 115–33. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Paxton, Frederic S. *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Péano, Pierre. "Ministres provinciaux de Provence et Spirituels." *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 10 (1975): 41–65.

Pécout, Thierry. "Les maîtres rationaux angevins au XIVe siècle: le cas de la Provence." *Reti Medievali Rivista* 20 (2019): 155–87.

Pegg, Mark. "Historians and Inquisitors: Testimonies from the Early Inquisitions into Heretical Depravity." In *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, edited by Joel Rosenthal, 98–113. London: Routledge, 2012.

Pellegrini, Letizia. "La sainteté au XV^{e} siècle entre procès et droit canonique. Avant et après Bernardin de Sienne." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 309–26. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Pellegrini, Letizia. "Testifying to Miracles: A Report on the Canonization Process of Bernardin of Siena." In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 105–27. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Pennington, Kenneth. "Due Process, Community, and the Prince in the Evolution of the Ordo iudiciarius." *Revista internazionale di diritto comune* 9 (1998): 9–47.

Péquignot, Amandine. "The Rhinoceros (fl. 1770–1793) of King Louis XV and Its Horns." *Archives of National History* 40.2 (2013): 213–27.

Peters, Edward. *Inquisition*. New York: Free Press, 1988.

Petersohn, Jürgen. "Die päpstliche Kanonisationsdelegation des 11. Und 12. Jahrhunderts und die Heiligsprechung Karls des Grossen." In *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, Toronto 1972. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1975.

Phillips, Catherine. "Between Madrid and Antwerp: The Life of Ignatius Loyola, Antwerp, 1610: Drawings from the Collection of Count Charles Cobenzl." *In Monte Artium* 11 (2018): 47–63.

Pihko, Saku. "A Taste of Dissent: Experiences of Heretical Blessed Bread as a Dimension of Lived Religion in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century Languedoc." In *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, 63–90. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.

Piron, Sylvain. "Le mouvement clandestin des dissidents franciscains au milieu du XIV^{e} siècle." *Oliviana* 3 (2009): 1–31.

Piron, Sylvain. "Les studia franciscains de Provence et d'Aquitaine (1275–1335)." In *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at the Papal and Royal Courts*, edited by Kent Emery, William Courtenay, and Stephen Metzger, 303–58. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, Bathélémy. "La 'Sainteté' de Charles de Blois." *Revue des Questions Historiques* 54 (July 1926): 108–15.

Pomata, Gianna. "The Devil's Advocate among the Physicians: What Prospero Lambertini Learned from Medical Sources." In *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science and Spirituality*, edited by Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher Johns, and Philip Gavitt, 120–49. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Prodi, Paolo. *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime. La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*. Bologna: Mulino, 1982.

Prudlo, Donald S. *Certain Sainthood: Canonization and the Origins of Papal Infallibility in the Medieval Church*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Prudlo, Donald S. "Heretics, Hemorrhages, and Herrings: Miracles and the Canonization of Dominican Saints." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 102–24. Reading Medieval Sources 5. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Quiles García, Fernando. “De un día para otro. Un itinerario entre dos fechas, marzo de 1622 y abril de 1671.” In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano*, 3 vols., edited by Fernando Quiles García et al., 2:557–78. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020.

Ramos Domingo, José. *El programa iconográfico de San Ignacio de Loyola en la Universidad de Salamanca. Ribadeneira-Rubens-Barbé-Conca*. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2003.

Räsänen, Marika. “Rituals and Spaces of Devotion in Cistercian Everyday Religion.” In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 144–63. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Räsänen, Marika. *Thomas Aquinas’s Relics as Focus for Conflict and Cult in the Late Middle Ages: The Restless Corpse*, Crossing Boundaries. Turku Medieval and Early Modern Studies. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.

Renoux, Christian. “The Quintuple Canonization of 1622: Between the Renewal of the Making of Saints and Claims for Pontifical Monopoly.” *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 9.2 (2022): 179–99.

Riches, Sam, and Sarah Salih, eds. *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*. London: Routledge, 2011 (2002).

Richie, Donald A. “Can Memory Be Collective?” In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Donald A. Richie, 96–111. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Ricœur, Paul. *La Mémoire, l’histoire et l’oubli*. Paris: Seuil, 2000.

Robbe, Joost. “The Kingdom of Heaven Cannot Be Denied to You Justly Because You Have Fought Correctly: Tracing the Evolution of Ars moriendi Literature in the Fifteenth Century.” In *Religious Practices and Everyday Life in the Long Fifteenth Century (1350–1570)*, edited by Ian Johnson and Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, 217–39. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.

Roch, Martin. “Il miracolo nell’alto Medioevo. Il caso dell’odore soave dei santi, tra testi e contesti.” In *Miracolo! Emozione, Spettacolo e Potere Nella Storia Dei Secoli* XIII–XVII, edited by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 99–116. Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2019.

Roch, Martin. “The ‘Odor of sanctity’: Defining Identity and Alterity in the Early Middle Ages (fifth to ninth century).” In *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and Cult of Saints*. Proceedings of the 2nd Hagiography conference organized by Croatian Hagiography Association ‘Hagiotheca’ held in Split, 28–31 May 2008, edited by Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš, 73–87. Bibliotheca Hagiotheca, Series Colloquia 1. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010.

Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos, Alfonso. “La iconografía de San Ignacio de Loyola y los ciclos pintados de su vida en España y Hispanoamérica.” *Cuadernos ignacianos* 5 (2004): 39–63.

Roediger, Henry L. III, and Magdalena Abel. “Collective Memory: A New Arena of Cognitive Study.” Trends in Cognitive Sciences 19.1 (2015): 359–61.

Roldán-Figueroa, Rady. *The Martyrs of Japan: Publication History and Catholic Missions in the Spanish World* (*Spain, New Spain, and the Philippines, 1597–1700*). Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Roldán-Figueroa, Rady. “Pedro de Ribadeneyra’s Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola (1583) and Literary Culture in Early Modern Spain.” In *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness*, edited by Robert A. Maryks, 156–74. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Rollo-Koster, Joëlle, ed. *Death in Medieval Europe: Death Scripted and Death Choreographed*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Romagnoli Bartolomei, Alessandra. “Il processo di canonizzazione di Domenico di Caleruega.” In *Fra Trionfi e Sconfitte. La politica della santità dell’Ordine dei Predicatori*, edited Viliam Stefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, 19–40. Dissertationes Historicae 39. Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Rowe, Erin. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Ávila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Rudolf, Rainer. *Ars moriendi*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1957.

Saccenti, Riccardo. “La lunga genesi dell’opera sulle canonizzazioni,” in *Le fatiche di Benedetto XIV. Origine ed evoluzione dei trattati di Prospero Lambertini* (*1675–1758*), edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, 3–48. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2011.

Sackville, L. J. *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations*. York: York Medieval Press, 2011.

Santi, Francesco. “Perché non fu canonizzato Ramon de Penyafort nel secolo XIV?” In *Fra trionfi e sconfitte. La politica della santità dell’Ordine dei Predicatori*, edited by Viliam Stefan Dóci, OP, and Gianni Festa, OP, Dissertationes Historicae 39. Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2021.

Saxer, Victor. “Philippe Cabassole et son Libellus hystorialis Marie beatissime Magdalene.” In *L’état Angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société*, 193–204. Rome: École française de Rome, 1998.

Sbriccoli, Mario. “Justice négociée, justice hégémonique. L’émergence du pénal public dans les villes italiennes des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles.” In *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l’Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, edited by Jacques Chiffoleau, Claude Gauvard, and Andrea Zorzi. Rome: École française de Rome, 2007.

Schell, Sarah. *Image and the Office of the Dead in Late Medieval Europe: Regular, Repellant, and Redemptive Death*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. "La fabrique des saints." *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*. 39.2 (1984): 286–300.

Schmitz-Esser, Romedio. *The Corpse in the Middle Ages: Embalming, Cremating, and the Cultural Construction of the Dead Body*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020.

Schurhammer, Georg. *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, translated by M. Joseph Costelloe. 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973–82.

Schurhammer, Georg. *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962–65.

Schütte, Josef Franz. "Manoel Godinho de Erédia, 'Entdecker' der Terra Australis." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 38.75 (1969): 292–312.

Scott, Joan. "The Evidence of Experience." *Critical Inquiry* 17.4 (1991): 773–97.

Sears, Elizabeth. "Sensory Perception and Its Metaphors in the Time of Richard of Fournival." In *Medicine and the Five Senses*, edited by W. F. Bynum and Ray Porter. First paperback edition, 17–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Sennis, Antonio, ed. *Cathars in Question*. York: York Medieval Press, 2016.

Sennis, Antonio. "Questions about the Cathars." In *Cathars in Question*, edited by Antonio Sennis, 1–20. York: York Medieval Press, 2016.

Serrão, Vítor. *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier pelo Pintor André Reinoso*. Lisbon: Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 1993.

Serrão, Vítor. "André Reinoso (c. 1590–pós 1650), um 'pintor de fama' para a fama de São Francisco Xavier." In *Missão, espiritualidade e arte em São Francisco Xavier*, edited by Maria Margarida Montenegro, 50–91. Lisbon: Edições Santa Casa Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2020.

Sigal, Pierre-André. "La mort des saints dans les Vies et les procès de canonisation du Midi de la France (XIe–XIVe siècle). La mort et l'au-dela en France meridionale (XIIe–XVe siècle)." *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 33 (1998): 17–40.

Sigal, Pierre-André. "Les témoins et les témoignages au procès de canonization de Dauphine de Puimichel (1363)." *Provence Historique* 195–96 (1999): 461–72.

Signori, Gabriela. *Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt. Hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an den Typus der hochmittelalterlichen Wunderpredigt*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1995.

Simões, João Miguel. "O ciclo pictórico dedicado a São Francisco Javier na sacristia da igreja de São Roque de Lisboa. Iconologia, ideologia imagética e política no contexto da União Ibérica (1580–1640)." In *Missão, espiritualidade e arte em São Francisco Xavier*, edited by Maria Margarida Montenegro, 92–133. Lisbon: Edições Santa Casa Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2020.

Smail, Daniel Lord. *Legal Plunder: Households and Debt Collection in Late Medieval Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Smail, Daniel Lord. "Witness Programs in Medieval Marseille." In *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*, edited by Michael Goodich, 227–50. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006.

Smith, Mark M. "Editor's Introduction." In *Smell and History: A Reader*, edited by Mark M. Smith, IX–XXIV. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2018.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "A Case of Demonic Possession in Fifteenth-Century Brittany: Perrin Hervé and the Nascent Cult of Vincent Ferrer." In *Voices from the Bench: The Narratives of Lesser Folk in Medieval Trials*, edited by Michael Goodich, 149–76. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Choosing Miracles for Vincent Ferrer." In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 75–104. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Dominicans and Demons: Possession, Temptation, and Reform in the Cult of Vincent Ferrer." *Speculum* 93.4 (2018): 1010–47.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "From 'Real Life' to Saint's Life: Biography and Hagiography in the Vitae of Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer." In *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, edited by Samantha Kahn Herrick, 33–51. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454." *Speculum* 73 (1998): 429–54.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 289–309. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "'Popular' Religious Culture(s)." In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, edited by John H. Arnold, 340–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. "Power and the Holy: Political and Religious Interests in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer." In *"Mestre Vicent és ací". Presència i fortuna d'un predicador medieval*, edited by Tomàs Martínez Romero. Special issue of *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 49.1 (2019): 261–86.

Smoller, Laura Ackerman. *The Saint & the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval & Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.

Solomon, Sheldon, Jeff Greenberg, and Tom Pyszczynski. *The Worm at the Core: On the Role of Death in Life*. London: Penguin Books, 2016.

Sommervogel, Carlos. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. New ed. 12 vols. Brussels: Oscar Schepens, 1960.

Soto Artuñedo, Wenceslao. "Reconocimiento de la santidad de Ignacio de Loyola, 1556–1622." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 91.181 (2022): 9–82.

Stern, Laura Ikins. “Public Fame in the Fifteenth Century.” *The American Journal of Legal History* 44.2 (2000): 198–222.

Tamminen, Miikka. “The Crusaders’ Stigmata: True Crusading and the Wounds of Christ in the Crusade Ideology of the Thirteenth Century.” In *Infirmity in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Social and Cultural Approaches to Health, Weakness and Care*, edited by Christian Krötzl, Katariina Mustakallio, and Jenni Kuuliala, 103–17. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015.

Théry, Julien. “Fama: l’opinion publique comme preuve judiciaire. Aperçu sur la révolution médiévale de l’inquisitoire (XIIe–XIVe siècle).” In *La Preuve en justice de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, edited by Bruno Lemesle, 119–47. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003.

Thompson, Augustine. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125–1325*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.

Thomson, Alistair. “Memory and Remembering in Oral History.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, edited by Donald A. Richie, 78–95. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Thornton, K., and C. Phillips. “Performing the Good Death: The Medieval Ars moriendi and Contemporary Doctors.” *Medical Humanities* 35.2 (2009): 94–97.

Thurlkill, Mary. *Sacred Scents in Early Christianity and Islam*. Lanham: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2016.

Tingle, Elisabeth. “Changing Western European Visions of Christian Afterlives, 1350–1700: Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory.” In *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c. 1300–1700*, edited by Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle, 33–71. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Toivo, Raisa. *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.

Toivo, Raisa “Protestantism, Modernity and the Power of Penetration: Saints and Sacrifice in 17th Century Lutheran Finland.” In *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, 75–103. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. “Discerning Voices and Values in Finnish Witch Trials Records.” *Studia Neophilologica* 84 (2012): 143–55.

Toivo, Raisa Maria. “Gender Performance in Early Modern Religious Life.” In *Revisiting Gender in European History, 1400–1800*, edited by Elise M. Dermineur, Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, and Virginia Langum, 169–86. London: Routledge, 2018.

Toivo, Raisa, and Liv Helene Willumsen. “A Narratological Approach to Witchcraft Trial Records: Creating Experience.” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 47.1 (2022): 39–61. DOI: 10.1080/03468755.2021.2014953.

Tomaini, Thea, ed. *Dealing with the Death: Mortality and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Tonkin, Elisabeth. *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Torres Olleta, María Gabriela. *Redes iconográficas. San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barroco*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2009.

Trombetti Budriesi, Anna Laura, ed. *Un gallo ad Asclepio. Morte, morti e società tra antichità e prima età moderna*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2013.

Tulving, Endel, and Fergus I. M. Craik, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Tyynelä-Haapamäki, Johanna. *Constructing Episcopal Sainthood in Late Medieval Sweden – The Cases of Brynolphus Algoti and Nicolaus Hermanni*. PhD dissertation. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2022.

Vallerani, Massimo. "Conflitti e modelli procedurali nel sistema giudiziario comunale. I registri di processi di Perugia bella seconda metà del XIII secolo." *Società e storia*, anno XII, 48: avril–juin (1990).

Vallerani, Massimo. "I fatti nella logica del processo medievale. Note introduttive." *Quaderni Storici, Fatti: storie dell'evidenza empirica* 108.3 (2001): 665–94.

Vallerani, Massimo. *La giustizia publica médiévale*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005.

Van Mulder, Jonas. "The Mobilization of Thought: A Narratological Approach to Representations of Dream and Vision in Late Medieval Miracle Collections in Low Countries." In *A Companion to Medieval Miracle Collections*, edited by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Jenni Kuuliala, and Iona McCleery, 299–326. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

Van Mulder, Jonas. "The Prosaic Supernatural: Representation and Function of Lay Visionary Experience in Miracle Collections from the Low Countries." In *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies*, edited by Christian Krötzl and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 257–83. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Vauchez, André. "Aux origines de la 'Fama Sanctitatis' d'Elzéar (d. 1323) et de Dauphine de Sabran (d. 1360). Le Mariage Virginal." In *Le Peuple des Saints. Croyances et dévotions en Provence et Comtat Venaissin à la fin du Moyen Age*, 153–66. Avignon: Académie de Vaucluse, 1987.

Vauchez, André. "Canonisation et politique au XIV^{e} siècle. Documents inédits des Archives du Vatican relatifs au procès de canonisation de Charles de Blois, duc de Bretagne (d. 1364)." In *Miscellanea in onore di Monsignor Martino Giusti, Prefetto dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano* II, 381–404. Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 6. Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1978.

Vauchez, André. "Conclusion." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gabor Klaniczay. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Vauchez, André. "Entre la Provence et la royaume de Naples: Elzéar (d. 1323) et Delphine (d. 1360) de Sabran." In *Echanges religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, edited by Michele Maccarrone and André Vauchez, 89–100. Geneva: Editions Slatkine, 1987.

Vauchez, André. "Il papato et il miracolo nella valutazione della santità nella prima metà del duocento." In *Miracolo! Emozione, Spettacolo e Potere nella Storia dei Secoli* XIII–XVII, edited by Laura Andreani and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 19–29. Florence: SISMEL, 2019.

Vauchez, André. *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge. D'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques*. Bibliothèque des Écoles francaises d'Athènes et de Rome 241. Rome: École française de Rome, 1988 (1981).

Vauchez, André. "Les origines et le développement du procès de canonisation (XII^e^–XIII^e^ siècles)." In *Vita Religiosa im Mittelater. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70 Geburtstag*, edited by Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert, 845–56. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999.

Vauchez, André. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Vauchez, André. "Two Lay Persons in Pursuit of Perfection: Elzéar de Sabran and Delphine of Puimichel." In *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, edited by Daniel Bornstein, translated by Margery Schneider, 73–82. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.

Veraja, Fabijan. *La beatificazione. Storia, problemi, prospettive*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983.

Veraja, Fabijan. *Le cause di canonizzazione dei santi*. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991.

Veysssière, Gérard. *Vivre en Provence au XIV^e^ Siècle*. Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan, 1998.

Vidal, Fernando. "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making." *Science in Context* 20.3 (2007): 481–508.

Vidal, Fernando. "Prospero Lambertini's 'on the imagination and its powers'." In *Storia, medicina e diritto nei trattati di Prospero Lambertini Benedetto XIV*, edited by Maria Teresa Fattori, 298–318. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2013.

Vitiello, Carraway. *Public Justice and Criminal Trial in Late Medieval Italy: Reggio Emilia in the Visconti Age*. Boston: Brill, 2016.

von Weissenberg, Marita. "Generations of Men and Masculinity in Two Late-Medieval Biographies of Saints." In *Men at Home: Domesticities, Authority, Emotions, Work*, edited by Raffaella Sarti, special issue of *Gender & History* 27 (2015): 669–83.

von Weissenberg, Marita. "'What man are you?' Piety and Masculinity in the vitae of a Sienese Craftsman and a Provençal Nobleman." In *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, edited by P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, 112–25. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.

Vovelle, Michel. *La mort et l'Occident. De 1300 à nos jours*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.

Wakefield, Walter L. *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Walz, Angelo, O.P. "Historia canonizationis sancti Thomae de Aquino." In *Xenia Thomistica. Divo Thomae doctori communi ecclesia occasione* VI *centenarii ab ejus canonizatione oblata*, 3 vols., edited by Sadoc Szabó, 3:105–72. Rome, 1925.

Webster, Harriett. "Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe." *Journal of Medieval History* 41.3 (2015): 292–308. DOI: 10.1080/03044181.2015.1048977.

Wenninger, Markus J., ed. *Du guoter tôt. Sterben im Mittelalter. Ideal und Realität.* Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlagt, 1998.

Wertsch, James V., and Henry L. Roediger III. "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches." *Memory* 16.3 (2008): 318–26. DOI: 10.1080/09658210701801434.

Westerhof, Danielle. *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England.* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008.

Wetzstein, Thomas. "'Ad informationem apostolicae sedis.' Die Verehrung des Werner von Oberwesel und die Kultuntersuchung von 1426." In *Wege zum Heil. Pilger und Heilige Orte an Mosel und Rhein*, edited by Thomas Frank, Michael Matheus, and Sabine Reichert, 97–134. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009.

Wetzstein, Thomas. "Audivimus (X 3.45.1) and the Double Failure of Raymundus de Peñafort." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Washington, D.C. 1–7 August 2004*, edited by Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington, and Atria A. Larson, 251–87. Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia 13. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008.

Wetzstein, Thomas. *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Mittelalter*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2004.

Wetzstein, Thomas. "Iura novit curia. Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters." In *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux*, edited by Gábor Klaniczay, 259–87. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004.

Wetzstein, Thomas. "Saints and Relics." In *The Cambridge History of Medieval Law*, edited by Anders Winroth and John C. Wei, 439–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Wicki, Josef. "Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Pérez S.I. (1579)." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 34.67 (1965): 36–78.

Wolf, Hubert, and Bernward Schmidt. *Benedikt* XIV *und die Reform des Buchzensurverfahrens. Zur Geschichte und Rezeption von "Sollicita ac provida"*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoningh, 2011.

Woolgar, C. M. "Medieval Smellscapes." In *Smell and History: A Reader*, edited by Mark M. Smith, 50–75. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2018.

Wright, A. D. "'La sua santità non inclina niente': The Papacy and the Canonization of Ignatius Loyola." In *Ite infiammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from*

Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006, edited by Thomas McCoog, 441–55. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010.

Zbíral, David, and Robert L. J. Shaw. "Hearing Voices: Reapproaching Medieval Inquisition Records." *Religions* 13.1175 (2022): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13121175.

Ziegler, Joseph. "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries." *Social History of Medicine* 12.2 (1999): 191–225.

Županov, Ines G. *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (*16th–17th Centuries*). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.

Zuriaga Senent, Vicent Francesc. "El decreto De Imaginibus y la construcción de la imagen devocional del fundador de la orden de la Merced, San Pedro Nolasco. El itinerario de una canonización 1565–1628." In *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano*, 3 vols., edited by Fernando Quiles García et al., 1:129–48. Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2020.

Index

Abbreviatio / Abbreviationes 70, 74
Absalon, archbishop 37
Absolution of sins 180
Accusatio / Accusatorial legal process 72
Acquaviva, Claudio, Jesuit priest 262, 267–269, 272, 279
Aebelholt 38
Agnes of Perigord, duchess 134
Agnus Dei / Lamb of God 60
Aix-en-Provence 136
Amicus, witness 205, 206, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216
Andrea, witness 180–182
Andree, Durand, witness 151
Angers 118
Animadversiones / objections 65
Anthonia, witness 174, 179–183, 185, 186, 195
Antoninus of Florence, archbishop 203, 204, 212, 214
Apt 144, 146, 147, 149–152
Ariès, Philippe, historian 175
Arles 140
Arnold, John H., historian 210
Ars moriendi guidebooks 20, 175, 176, 183–185, 187, 194, 195
Articulus / articuli 13, 14, 22, 77–79, 85, 92, 105, 110, 111, 118, 124, 157, 192, 219, 225, 242
Asia 263, 265–267, 288
Audivimus 3, 4, 28, 35, 44
Auray 117, 118
Avignon 31, 40, 41, 73, 127, 130, 134, 135, 141, 143, 144, 148–150, 244
Avignonet 98, 99, 101

Barbé, Jan Baptist, engraver 291
Barcelona 269, 270, 283
Bartlett, Robert, historian 18
Bartomieua, Bertranda, witness 129, 130, 133, 135, 136, 142–144, 147, 150–152
Beatification 6, 21, 46, 48, 50, 52–54, 56, 57, 64, 66, 68, 260, 262, 269, 270, 284, 285, 288, 291
Becker, Ernest, anthropologist 175
Birgersson, Ulf, Birgittine brethren 42
Birgittine Order 41
Black Death 183
Bogotá 293
Bollandists 203
Bologna 46, 72, 74, 75, 241, 242, 244, 248, 255, 257
Bonaventure 117
Bonnieux 135
Borgia, Francis, Jesuit priest 264
Bouley, Bradford A., historian 237, 238, 245
Brussels 270, 284
Bucerella, witness 206–211, 214, 215
Burgos 269, 270, 272

Cabassole, Philippe, bishop 129, 130, 133–138, 140, 147
Cabrières 146
Caelestis Ierusalem cives 276
Camerino 74
Campitelli 112
Canon law / canon law commentators 1, 9–11, 25, 30–32, 36, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 71, 220, 222, 237, 257
Canonization feast / ceremony 7
Canterbury 36, 228
Canute V, King of Denmark 39
Cardinal(s) / College of cardinals 5, 9, 10, 31, 33, 46, 47, 49–53, 57, 64, 65, 74, 129, 134, 135, 140, 147, 191, 265, 290
Carpentras 159
Casasana 143
Catarina, duchess of Braganza 276
Cathars 97
Causa Maiora / causae maiores 26, 50
Cavaillon 129, 133, 134, 141
Cesena 87, 88, 92
Charisma 8, 49, 50
Charles II, king of Naples 133
Charles IV, emperor 41
Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily 117
Chiffoleau, Jacques, historian 146, 175
China 263, 269
Christopher I, King of Denmark 38, 39

Chronicon seu opus historiarum 204
Cistercians 38, 212, 243, 245, 247, 249, 250, 252, 256, 258
Citatio generalis 12
Collaert, Jan, engraver 286, 287
Commissioner(s) 4, 9–13, 15, 32, 69, 74, 82, 107, 120, 123, 127, 128, 140, 142, 151–156, 158–164, 166–173, 179, 181, 182, 206, 210, 211, 217, 219, 220, 224, 226, 230–232, 242, 250
Confession 2, 81, 150, 151, 181, 182, 193
Confessor(s) 51, 54–56, 111–114, 116, 144, 174, 186
Confiteor 182
Congregation of the Blessed 48, 281, 282, 284
Congregation of the Index 51
Consilium Pacis 33
Corpus incorruptum 237, 239, 245, 252, 255, 258
Council of Constance 42
Council of Trent 66, 263
Criminal trials 67
Cristina, witness 219, 229, 230, 233, 234
Curial officials 15, 254
Cuzco 282

Damascus 190
Damietta 116
de Caple, Walterus, witness 219, 222, 228
de Certeau, Michel, historian 199
de Lonsdale, Alice, witness 164–167
de Lucena, João, Jesuit priest 276–278, 289
de Polanco, Juan, Jesuit priest 263
de Ponteves, Elzear, bishop 151
de Ribadeneyra, Pedro, Jesuit priest 265
de Saint-Affrique, Bérenger, author of vita of Clare of Montefalco 115
de Saint-Pathus, Guillaume, author of the vita of Louis of France 116, 120
de Salis, Imbertus, witness 99
De servorum Dei Beatificatione et sanctorum canonizatione 46, 68
de Vazano, Dominicus Zani, witness 206, 207, 216
De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae 267
De vita Francisci Xaverii 272, 274
Decretal collection(s) 3
Delooz, Pierre, historian 21
Denmark 35, 36, 38, 39, 42
Denunciation 72
Devil 38, 56, 110
di Gandino, Alberto, jurist and judge 71, 76
Digne 135
Disability/ impairment 19, 22, 153–173
Ditchfield, Simon, historian 260
Dominican Order / Order of Preachers / *Ordo Praedicatorum* 148, 240, 254
Dulcesa, witness 167–169

Elliott, Dyan, historian 144
Elzéar de Sabran 79, 127, 138, 151
England 117
Enric, Guilhem, witness 129, 130, 136, 142, 146
Eyewitness testimony 96, 99, 242, 252
Eystein Augustinus Erlendson of Nidaros, bishop 39
  Fama publica 3, 76, 161, 162
  bona fama 75, 76
  fama sanctitatis 73, 75–77, 92, 198
  mala fama 85

Finucane, Ronald, historian 1, 17
Flanders 162
Florence 203, 212, 270, 281
Flos sanctorum 281
Forma examinandi testes 4
Fossanova 243–247, 257
Fourth Lateran Council 2, 71, 243
France 9, 26, 88, 242, 262, 293
Franciscans / friars minor 118, 128, 134, 143, 146–152, 153, 171, 211
Fredrick II, emperor 123
Frei, Elisa, historian 293

Galle, Theodoor, engraver 273, 27, 286
Gandia 270, 290
Ginzburg, Carlo, historian 90, 199
Giraud of Simiana, witness 129, 130, 135, 137
Goa 261, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 270, 273, 276, 279, 281, 288, 289, 291
Golinelli, Paolo, historian 92
Good men 97, 100
Goodich, Michael, historian 107, 179, 224
Gregersson, Birger, archbishop 41

Gregorian reform 2
Grieco, Holly, historian 149

Halbwachs, Maurice, philosopher 82
Hemmingus of Åbo, bishop 43
Henry of Langenstein, conciliarist and theologian 33
Hereford 153, 154, 157, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167, 169, 217, 223, 234
Heresy, heretics 21, 26, 34, 29, 56, 61, 67, 86–89, 91, 93, 95, 97–99, 101–103, 122, 126, 149, 151, 198, 215
Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier 276–278
Holy Land 291
How Caple, Herefordshire 217, 219, 222, 223, 228, 234
Hungary 34

Incantation 159, 231
India 263–266, 269, 270, 288
Inquisitio (*in partibus*) 3, 21, 25, 32, 42, 45, 50, 69–72, 74, 79, 83, 85, 86, 89–92, 97, 98, 102, 104, 150, 197–199, 201, 202, 205, 215, 224, 227
inquisitorial method 10, 67, 69–73, 77, 87, 158, 205, 215
inquisition trial(s) 21, 25, 86–104, 197, 198, 199
Interpreter(s) 12
Interrogatorium (*Testes legitimos*) 4, 13, 80, 92, 158, 159, 219, 231
Invocation. *See also* vow 64, 159, 160, 178, 181, 209, 210, 222, 230–232
  Invocation rituals 231
Ireland 34
Italy 9, 69, 70, 79, 110, 122, 179, 242, 270, 279

Jacobus, witness 93–96
Jansenists 61
Japan 263, 266, 282, 293
Jerusalem 128, 129, 133, 140
Jesuit(s) / Society of Jesus 259, 266
Joan of Penthièvre, duchess 117
Johanna I, Queen of Naples 41, 133
John III, King of Portugal 263, 264
John IV of Montford 117, 118
John of Burton, witness 165, 166, 168

Kingdom of Navarre 262
Klaniczay, Gábor, historian 20
Koblenz 203
Kol, King of Sweden 3
König-Nordhoff, Ursula, historian 285
Krafft, Ottfried, historian 16
Krötzl, Christian, historian 162, 177

L'Aquila 179, 201, 202, 204–206, 215, 216
Laínez, Diego, Jesuit priest 263
Languedoc 88, 91, 97, 98, 100, 101
Last rites / extreme unction 180, 182, 194, 238
Le Goff, Jacques, historian 175
Lett, Didier, historian 177, 228
Liber Extra 3, 4, 28, 243
Libri maleficiorum 3, 69, 76
Lima 282
Linköping 41, 42
Lisbon 261, 263–265, 270, 271, 277, 278
London 117, 153, 156, 164, 165, 167
Lund 36, 37, 41, 42

Macerata 73, 74
Madrid 268, 269, 271, 281, 286
Maffei, Giampietro, Jesuit 267, 268, 272, 273, 276
Magnus of Turku, bishop 43
Maguelone 152
Malacca 264, 269–271, 288, 291
Malaysia 264, 269, 270
Malebranche, Nicolas, Oratorian 59
Mallorca 270, 272, 281
Manila 282
Manresa 270, 288
Mantua 87, 88, 92
Marches of Ancona 13, 154
Marianus, witness 174, 180–182, 185, 186
Marseille 134, 137, 146, 148, 153, 167, 169
Medical experts/practitioners 62, 63, 177, 237, 238, 238
Medicine 63, 66
Mesellano, Alazays, witness 129, 130, 135, 138, 139, 147
Messenger(s) / nuncii 12, 101, 216
Meyronne, Francis, Franciscan friar 135, 147, 149, 150
Minors, testimony of 56

Miracula in vita 5, 8, 28, 114
Miracula post mortem 28
Modena 92, 270
Montpellier 152
Montségur 99–101

Nagasaki 266
Nantes 119
Naples 41, 127, 130, 133–136, 138, 143, 146, 148, 150, 202, 204, 243, 244, 257, 283
Narbonne 149
Nasinbenus, witness 93, 94, 96
Nice 130, 138, 143, 150
Nidaros 39, 40
Niedermeier, Nina, art historian 263
Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio, Jesuit 293
Norway 35, 39, 40, 42
Notary(-ies) 25, 31, 32, 44, 65, 74, 79, 82, 84, 95, 100, 101, 164, 168, 182, 194, 198, 207, 211, 212, 223

Oblates of St. Frances 112
Odor sanctitatis 14, 237, 239, 242, 243, 245, 249, 256, 258
Order of Servants of Mary 60
Ordo iudicarius 25, 28, 31, 44
Orsini, Golicie, witness 191–194

Paciocco, Roberto, historian 16
Padua 46
Papa, Giovanni, historian 259
Papal bull(s) 18, 158, 195, 256
Papal curia 3–5, 11, 24, 25, 31, 32, 37, 41–43, 46, 48, 50, 178, 179, 201, 203, 211, 214, 223, 239, 244, 250, 257
Papal/ Great Western Schism 7, 33, 41
Paris 262, 267
Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi 39
Pellegrini, Letizia, historian 5, 202, 216
Peña, Francisco, canonist 237, 238
Pérez, Francisco, Jesuit 266
Peru 282
Perugia 179, 204
Philip II, King of France 121
Philip of Majorca 148
Philip VI, King of France 117
Philippines 270, 282, 286
Phillips, C., historian 187, 190
Pilgrim(s), pilgrimage 9, 26, 155, 159, 173, 178, 206, 217, 218, 227, 228, 230, 233–236, 279, 291
Piscatoris, Nicholas, witness 217–236
Piscatoris, Johannes, witness 219, 228, 229, 232, 235
Piscatoris, Lucia, witness 219, 228–230, 232, 234, 235
Podestat 69, 70, 72, 75, 76, 79, 81, 85
Pont-à-Mousson 293
Ponziani, Lorenzo 112
Popes
  Alexander III 3, 28, 35–37
  Alexander IV 29, 39, 40
  Alexander VII 49
  Benedict XII 183
  Benedict XIII 64
  Benedict XIV 7, 21, 46, 49, 50, 52, 54, 57, 60, 62, 66
  Boniface IX 41
  Celestine III 28
  Clement III 28, 37
  Clement IV 30, 40
  Clement IX 49, 52
  Clement VI 135, 276, 279, 281
  Clement VIII 276, 279, 281
  Clement XII 49
  Gregory I / Gregory the Great 289
  Gregory IX 3, 24, 28–30, 35, 40
  Gregory XI 10, 41, 80
  Gregory XV 259, 289
  Honorius III 4, 28, 30, 38
  Innocent III 28, 44, 71
  Innocent IV 29, 38, 39, 40, 88, 92
  Innocent XI 66
  John Paul II 27
  John XXII 134, 148, 149, 244, 254
  John XXIII 42
  Nicholas V 211
  Paschalis II 36
  Paul III 263, 265
  Paul V 284, 289
  Sixtus IV 42
  Sixtus V 48, 50, 260
  Urban IV 30
  Urban V 134
  Urban VIII 7, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 65, 260, 293

Portugal 276
Proctor(s) 11–13, 32, 131, 157
Promoter(s) 11, 13, 31, 40, 45, 62, 65, 106, 119, 178, 202
Promotor fidei 6
Prospero Lambertini. *See also* Benedict XIV 21, 46, 68
Protestant(s) 7, 55, 64
Provence 18, 127–130, 133–136, 140, 142, 149, 150
Prudlo, Donald S., historian 93

Raybaud, Giraud, witness 129, 130, 142–145, 150–152
Raymond VII, count of Toulouse 98
Reformation 6, 7, 35, 43
Relatio 5, 70, 72
Relic(s) 2, 8, 26, 28, 29, 36, 39, 42, 70, 88, 130, 133, 139, 142, 178, 243, 252, 253, 276
Ricoeur, Paul, philosopher 81
Robert, King of Naples 127, 133, 135, 138, 147
Romano-canonical process 3, 16, 25, 28, 31
Rome 26, 27, 34–36, 40–43, 45–47, 53, 65, 67, 73, 92, 112, 114, 151, 152, 179, 192, 204, 245, 263–265, 267–272, 279, 281–286, 288, 289
Rota 50, 63, 65, 283, 289
Rubens, Peter-Paul, painter 262

Sacrati, Francesco, cardinal 290
Sacred Congregation of Rites 6, 7, 46–52, 65, 259, 268, 273, 289
Saints and Blesseds
  Anthony of Padua 29
  Bernardino of Siena 5, 22, 174, 175, 179–183, 186, 192, 195, 197, 200, 202–211, 213–215
  Birgitta of Sweden 10, 11, 40–43, 79, 175, 191–194
  Brynolph of Skara 41, 43
  Camillo de Lellis 57
  Canute IV of Denmark 36
  Knud Lavard 36, 37, 39
  Catherine of Siena 184
  Catherine of Vadstena 194
  Charles of Blois 10, 111, 112, 116, 117
  Claire/Clare of Montefalco 80, 110, 111, 115, 121–124
  Clare of Assisi 123
  Delphine de Puimichel 12, 18, 22, 126–131, 133–144, 146–152
  Dominic of Guzman 14, 240–252, 254–257
  Elizabeth of Hungary 4, 29, 80
  Frances of Rome (Francesca Bussa di Ponziani) 112–114
  Francis de Sales 49
  Francis of Assisi 29, 117, 146
  Francis Xavier 23, 259, 265, 269, 271, 272, 274–278 282, 292
  Ignatius Loyola 63, 259, 260, 262–269, 271–273, 279–293
  Ingrid of Skänninge 41
  John Buoni 87, 88, 91–94, 96, 100
  John Capistrano 181, 182, 186
  John Francis Regis 60, 63
  John of Bridlington 32
  Juan de Prado 64
  Juliana Falconieri 64
  Kjeld of Viborg 37
  Louis IX 116–121
  Louis of Toulouse (Louis of Anjou) 16, 79, 146, 153, 155–160, 166, 169, 170, 172
  Margaret of Hungary 115
  Milburga of Wenlock 217
  Nicholas of Tolentino 13, 18, 32, 73, 74, 78, 79, 82, 154, 155–161, 167, 172, 179
  Nicolaus of Linköping/ Nils Hermansson 41, 43
  Niels of Aarhus 39
  Olav of Norway 39
  Philip of Bourges 30
  Pius V, pope 60
  Thomas Aquinas 14, 30, 58, 85, 241–250, 252–257, 289
  Thomas Cantilupe 9, 18, 79, 154–169, 171, 172, 217–219, 222, 224–227, 229–231, 233–235
  Vincent Ferrer 18, 22, 115, 197, 200, 202–204, 211–214
  Wilhelm of Aebelholt 38
San Ginesio 73
San Severino 74, 78
Santo Angelo 160
Santo Genesio 160
Sanxia, Queen of Naples 127, 128, 133, 134, 148

Schmitz-Esser, Romedio, historian 239
Shangchuan Island 263, 269
Shrine 9, 165, 178, 218, 221, 226, 227, 230, 233–235
Sicily 34, 117
Siena 174, 179, 180, 204
Sigal, Pierre-André, historian 143
Skänning 41
Slovakia 281
Smoller, Laura Ackerman, historian 18, 107, 115
Spain 262, 269, 270
Spinoza, Baruch, philosopher 58
Spiritual Franciscans 128, 146, 148–152
Spoleto 110, 115
Stigmata 117
Sweden 10, 35, 40–42, 191, 192

Talleyrand of Perigord, cardinal 135
Teixeira, Manuel, Jesuit 266, 267
Testes legitimos. *See Interrogatorium*
Tholomeus, miraculé 191–194
Thornton, K., historian 187, 190
Tolentino 13, 73–75, 164, 167
Torsellino, Orazio, Jesuit author 272–274, 276, 279, 289, 291
Toulouse 98, 164, 202, 204, 242
Tractatus de artis bene moriendi 184
Tractatus de maleficiis 71, 76
Translatio / elevatio 2, 36, 39, 40, 43, 245, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253, 256, 257, 264, 272, 276, 285
Trier 203–205, 210, 214, 216

Ut famae tuae 71

Vadstena Abbey 194
Valignano, Alessandro, Jesuit priest 266–268
Vannes 204
Vasa, Gustav, King of Sweden 35, 43
Vauchez, André, historian 16, 17, 22, 33–35, 70, 144, 148, 150, 178, 288
Venerabili 4, 44
Ventura, witness 246, 252, 254, 255
Vie et miracles de Saint Louis 116
Villamena, Francesco, engraver 279, 280, 286, 291
Virgin Mary 58, 190, 224, 230, 235, 293
Vita Ignatii Loiolae 265
Votive offerings 233
Votum / vow 149, 153, 159, 160, 161, 165, 170, 171, 173, 193, 206, 208, 209, 211–215, 223, 233
Vovelle, Michel, historian 175

Waldensians 99
Wetzstein, Thomas, historian 16
Wierix, Hieronymus, engraver 273, 275, 276
William of Tocco, Dominican friar 42, 249, 250
Witnesses, selection of 12, 98, 119
Woolgar, C. M., historian 248
Woolston, Thomas, theologian 58, 59

Yoshishige, Ōtomi, daimyo 282
Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquinatis 249

Zacchia, Paolo, medical scientist 63, 64
Zamboniti 87

Canonizations, which officially proclaimed a person's sanctity, were complex, embracing theological, judicial, social, and cultural aspects of medieval Christianity. The dossiers manifest the theological ponderings while also revealing the devotional practices, daily life, and troubles of those not learned in canon law or theology.

This volume offers tools for comprehending canonization processes by investigating their judicial background and structural elements as well as devotional aspects reflected in the depositions. It approaches canonization processes in a three-fold way: as a phenomenon of the past, as a source material with methodological challenges, and as a specific field of historical studies. Furthermore, this volume engages in innovative methodological discussions and illuminates the state-of-the-art and topical new themes.

Contributors include: Christian Krötzl, Maria Teresa Fattori, Didier Lett, Saku Pihko, Jenni Kuuliala, Nicole Archambeau, Adelheid Russenberger, Jyrki Nissi, Laura Ackerman Smoller, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Marika Räsänen, and Jonathan Greenwood.

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa is currently Professor of Cultural History at the University of Turku, Finland. She has specialized in lived religion, gender, and family. Her recent publications on canonization processes include *Demonic Possession and Lived Religion in Later Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) and, edited with Christian Krötzl, *Miracles in Medieval Canonization Processes: Structures, Functions, and Methodologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

ISBN: 978-90-04-51629-8

9 789004 516298

ISSN: 1871-6377
brill.com/bcct